JINNAH

THE CONQUEROR



IBADUR RAHMAN KHAN

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This book, which had been my lifelong cherished aim and wish to write, is dedicated to my two sons, Sultan Farooq Ahmed Khan and Sultan Jalil ur Rahman Khan, and my life partner, Mrs. Hameeda Rehman Khan, who have been a great source of inspiration to me. All the three have proved a great Blessing and most valuable Prize, that God, the Almighty, has Bestowed upon me. I feel proud of them. May God Bless them, Ameen.

And to

All the people of PAKISTAN, who love PAKISTAN, and their QUAID-E-AZAM MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH, FOUNDING FATHER OF PAKISTAN, GOD BLESS HIS SOUL. *(Ameen)* LONG LIVE PAKISTAN.

I. R. KHAN

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INTRODUCTION

Readable, reliable and realistic studies of Quaid-e-Azam's life and works are few and far between. Still less are the books that try to bring out the essential traits and characteristic of the personality of that great leader in their true perspective. Ibadur Rahman Khan's book, JINNAH–THE CONQUEROR is a successful attempt to present the noble and enchanting story.

A noble deed has an inspiring effect. A lofty fulfillment must stimulate spirit. It is like a pervading music that enlivens hearts and elevates souls. He who performs such an act conquers his fate. Every conquest adds to the potential of self-confidence. It makes that self more conscious of what it aspires for, then toil becomes talent. Fortitude becomes attitude. Life seems centralized and fixed on the aim to be achieved. Potentialities of a determined person must find the way for their unfolding. For a man with stirred up soul, the meaning of life lies in achievement. But there can be no achievement without facing and accepting challenge. Life is a perpetual challenge. How many are there to accept it?

When Quaid began the career as a barrister the first challenge he faced was that of poverty. He accepted the challenge and defeated his poverty. As lawyer, he had to forbear long briefless intervals. But he worked on punctual to a minute. He entered his chamber every morning and busted himself with the study and understanding of law. This prolonged silent struggle strengthened him with

thorough knowledge of law. The result was that whenever his legal capability was put to test he invariably came out with flying colors. His brilliant intellect pushed him on. His integrity gave him honour. His firm faith in God made him his own morning star. He rose from stark poverty to luminous affluence.

Honest Efforts

He belonged to family of Khoja traders who had fallen on bad days. When Jinnah returned from England after the completion of his studies in law, he had nobody who could promote his cause in social and official circles. He earned wealth, he earned fame and he earned honour by dint of his own honest efforts.

Quaid-e-Azam's life is a living massive monument with bold inscriptions which read, "Don't be disheartened on not having wealthy and resourceful parents. Rely on your own capabilities. Work hard. Live purposefully. Be honest, trust in God. Never harbour defeat. Success in the long run is yours". Man is born pure. Man is born true. To live bravely means to lead a life of purity and truthfulness. A true individual is never in search of dubious means and acquired phrases. There is no ability in his behavior. The Quaid-e-Azam remained true to his essential nature. His expressions never produced dubious impressions. His tone was one whether he exchanged views with his juniors, comrades or the Viceroys of India. Wavel complained that Jinnah had no manners. Mounbatten felt that he was haughty. Yes, he had his gentlemanly manners. He therefore could not bow before any person with folded hands, whatever the status of person. He never smiled to flatter the high ups. He knew where to be haughty and where to be gentle and affectionate.

Politics today has come to acquire an ugly facet. It has been relegated to that position by politicians themselves. They have been ambitious more than they deserve.

Bumptious fellows they are, whose record is nothing but false promises, broken compromises, covetousness, stark greed, egotism, short-sightedness to the extent of treachery. One is really at a loss to understand how a truthful person can become untrue in some walks of life while simultaneously remaining true in some others, now true and then untrue, here true, and untrue there. Politics is the most important field of work for lovers of freedom wherever they be. There is no falsehood in life. Life is all real and true. To be false is to play the unnatural. Those, who are not truthful in one facet of life may not be truthful in other facets too. Those who are not reliable in politics may not be reliable elsewhere. The Quaid-e-Azam transformed politics into statesmanship. He knew that like all other professions politics too, needs wisdom, foresight, intelligence, faith in one ideology and relentless courage to stand for one's stand point. The opposite tantamounts to relegating it to charlatanism. A man of integrity in the field of politics can safely look to the Quaid-e-Azam for standards; he will not fail him. Through his conduct he has proved that truthfulness and sincerity of purpose bear fruit, even in politics. Only a man of high credibility could have done so. Talents are God given but how many from amongst mankind put them to proper use and realize them in true sense of the word. Inspiration is all good. But it is hundred time more of perspiration that leads one to success, whatever be one's calling. The Quaid-e-Azam went on laboring on his self to actualize his possibilities. He built himself into a fort, all marble. His refined taste turned politics also into a fine art; an art which was massive illuminating, enlivening. His art was not abstract, shallow, obscure, signifying sham. People used to say that clean politics is a contradictory term. For him this foreboding was a sort of challenge. He faced it. He accepted it. And he proved that for a clean man every walk of life is always clean. It should begin at one's owns heart. Clean your heart

and you will find the whole world clean.

Spirit of Unity

As a member of the Indian National Congress he worked as true nationalist. He was called "the Ambassador of Unity". In this regard Lucknow Pact (1916) is the most eloquent evidence. But along with the enhancing influence of Gandhi on Hindus that spirit of unity, by and by died away. It was Gandhi's conscious act. He could not stop Hindu Leaders from entering into that Pact because he had returned from Africa only in January 1915 and had not yet been able to influence the minds of his party men. According to Yajnik, the author of "Mahatma Gandhi, As I know him" (1931) Gandhi disliked Lucknow Pact. The reason behind this was that the pact signified two nations while he believed in one Indian nation. This is why he remained on the look out for a chance to prove that he was right. And the chance was provided to him by Khalifat Movement. The tragedy of Jallianwal Bagh kindled fire of protest and resentment all over the subcontinent. Gandhi returned the medal " Kaisar-i-Hind" to the government as a sign of protest. The medal was given to him by the British Government for his services as recruiting sergeant during World War I. The Quaid-e-Azam resigned his seat in the Imperial Legislative Council. Jallianwala Bagh and Khilafat Movement brought Hindus and Muslims together and took the shape of the first mass movement of the subcontinent. Sentiments had risen high. Gandhi assumed the leadership in his own hands to prove that there lived in India only one nation, the Indian nation. Yet the fact is that coming physically together of the two nations at such a vast level separated them mentally all the more. The cause is obvious. Mammoth meetings attended by Hindus and Muslims were addressed by the leaders of both the nations. Hindu leaders alluded to Hindu heroes and their exploits while the Muslim leaders referred to their own heroes and they were

innumerable. Sivaji Marhata was mentioned by Hindus side by side with Vikeramajit. Aurangzeb and Mahmood of Ghazna were mentioned by the Muslims with Haider-i-Karrar and Khalid bin Walid. Thus mutual prejudices were kindled at unity gatherings. The result was that when the movement was called off Hindus and Muslim fell upon each other. Carnage and killing took place in many towns and cities, a phenomenon that is still alive in India of today.

But Gandhi succeeded in killing the atmosphere of compromise created by the Lucknow Pact. That atmosphere never returned. To this day it has not. Gandhi saw the existence of Muslims recognized as a separate nation in that pact. He could not digest it. Muslims were not a separate nation and as such they were not entitled to anything separately, he believed. Quaid-e-Azam saw the monument of concord built by his sincere efforts demolished by Gandhi. He also saw with grief the setback received by the Muslim League through Khilafat Movement led by Gandhi. He then found the Muslim leadership in disarray on account of Gandhi. Yet he was not the man to give in. He still looked for concord and amity. He still worked for the rights of Indians, i.e. both Hindus and Muslims. He was every inch a patriot.

Simon Go Back

On the eve of Simon Commission, he was the first to raise the protest cry "Simon Go Back". He could never think of compromising with a body constituted to look into the constitutional problems of India with a view to bringing about reforms but with no Indian as its member. As an Indian he felt slighted. Simon Commission was in a way challenge to his honour because it was challenge to India. Though he had left the Congress in 1923 yet he supported the Congress in its stand against the "Commission" and declared. "Jallianwala Bagh was physical butchery, the Simon Commission is the butchery

of the 'Soul' ". In spite of this friendly cooperation and patriotic role of the Quaid-e-Azam and his Muslim League, the Congress party behaved in respect of Nehru Report in such a ruthless manner as had proved beyond any shadow of doubt, that they were not prepared to concede legal safeguards to Muslims because they did not recognise them as a separate entity. When the all Party Conference was held in Calcutta in December 1928 for the formal approval of Nehru Report, Quaid-e-Azam also participated in that Conference. He put forward minor amendments to safeguard the rights of Muslims, among them the demand of one-third of seats at the Central Assembly. All amendments were callously rejected. Nehru, vehemently, maintained that all communal fears were unfounded. Nehru had always been a trusted spokesman of Gandhi. The Quaid-e-Azam left the pandal and with tears in his eyes, he had said to a friend "this is the parting of the ways". These oft-quoted words are full of heartfelt sorrow. He was hurt. He could not make Hindus play fair. Such a huge nation and with such a narrow outlook! He could bring about no change. Perhaps this was his only failure. But this failure was not his alone; it was and is the failure of the whole concept of cultural evolution of human societies. Attitudes that prevailed in India about four thousand years ago are still there. Anyway, the Culcutta rebuff was very severe. Yet the Quaid was not the man to be cowed down. Then he faced the new challenge. It was to fight the British and the Congress simultaneously.

Kenworthy, a British M. P. belonging to the pro-Hindu Labour Party wrote:

> "The Muslims fear that in Indian democracy they will be swamped and squeezed out by the Hindus; and they have an acute apprehension that their cherished religious customs will be interfered with. In the last resort, and this was freely acknowledged by leading Indian

statesmen in both camps, the Muslims will fight rather than submit".

The next sentence of the author deals with the unworkability in India of the democracy in European sense. For him it was "extraordinarily difficult" as far as India was concerned. And here is an anecdote related by Wakefield, an ICS officer who lived in India for long years:

"The Princes gave a banquet in Delhi to British Indian politicians on the eve of the first Round Table Conference. Some of us were told to make them talk politics. At my table were H. H. the late Maharaja of Patiala, Dr. Munje, Madan Mohan Malvia, Sir Ali Imam, Sir Muhammad Shafi and Dr. Raje. Madan Mohan Malvia and Dr. Munje said to the Mohammadans 'Trust us, we will do everything for you' – They wrangled and at last Sir Ali Imam said to me, 'Mr. Wakefield, the truth is the Hindus want a Hindu Raj and the Mohammadans, a Muslim Raj'."

Communal Award

After the Round Table Conferences the Communal Award was issued in 1932 in the light of which the Act of 1935 was promulgated by the British Parliament. Through that Award Hindus and Muslims both gained something, though none of the parties was fully satisfied with it. Muslims, however, got one-third of the seats in the Central Assembly, a demand which Congress leaders had heartlessly rejected. Had they acceded to this demand it would have helped in creating an atmosphere of mutual good will. The fact is that Hindus agreed with Muslims, in constitutional matters, only once and it was the Lucknow Pact, the spirit of which later on was destroyed by Gandhi.

After the elections of early 1937, the Congress leadership became all the more haughty. The Quaid-e-Azam had

allowed the Muslim League to co-operate, as far as possible, in respect of those elections, especially in the United Provinces. The elections over, the Congress leadership, drunk with power, refused to have any constitutional dealings with the Muslim League unless it merged with the Congress. It was a sort of cordial invitation to the League to commit suicide. During these very days the spokesman of Gandhi, the anglofile Nehru, as was his wont, declared. "There are only two forces in India today: British Imperialism and Indian nationalism as represented by the Congress". In other words, Nehru had refused to recognise the existence of Muslim nation, with 550 seats from which the Congress could get only about two dozens.

The Quaid-e-Azam felt as if the whole Muslim nation stood slighted, rather insulted. Hence he issued a strong rejoinder:

> "No, There is a third party – namely the Musalmans. We are not going to be dictated to by anybody ... We are not going to be camp-followers of any party."

Nehru's statement was a clear challenge to the leaders of Musalmans and specially Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who accepted this challenge bravely. Gandhi did not see anything wrong in what Nehru had said but characterised the rejoinder issued by the Quaid as a challenge. In fact both were right. Hindu leadership denied that there was a nation separate from Hindus, called Muslims. For them all the inhabitants of India were Hindus. The Muslims said in relation to India they were Hindis but not Hindus. The opposing stands worked for and resulted in the creation of Pakistan. The Quaid-e-Azam defeated the Congress in Gandhi's lifetime. He defeated Mountbatten who was sent out to India to implement the Cabinet Mission scheme in order to avert partition for some years at least. But in the words of the Quaid-e-Azam Pakistan was the

will of God and it was going to be fulfilled. And the whole world saw the will of God fulfilled in spite of all the threats and machinations of both the Hindus and the British.

What was the attitude of the British government and why at last they had agreed to "partition" is quite another story, yet a little quotation would illustrate. These are the words of British Prime Minister Clement Attlee:

> "What we had to agree unfortunately and it was not our wish at all - was the division of India. We had argued on every possible safeguards for the Muslims but they would not do it. By this time they had become absolutely fixed on separate Muslim state Pakistan, and we had to agree to it".

It was the united will of the Muslims that obliged Attlee to yield. Pakistan was "earned", Pakistan was not given in charity.

Iqbal's "Eagle"

It was only the Quaid-e-Azam on whose capabilities Allama Iqbal relied. He believed that it was only Muhammad Ali Jinnah who could lead the nation through all turmoil, to the shores of safety. Allama Iqbal's symbol of conquest was the "Eagle". And here is a very interesting statement by Margarita Barns. The statement came out in thirties. It is about the Quaid-e-Azam characterised as an Eagle. It reads thus:

> "My friend Kelen the distinguished Hungarian cartoonist has a way of visualising his subjects in the form of a bird or an animal. Mr. Jinnah reminded him of an eagle. The symbolization is apt."

Allama Iqbal's liking for Jinnah was not without a cause, especially in the last two years of his life. He had perhaps

recognised his Shahbaz (Eagle) in him. He knew Jinnah was destined to conquer all opposition and win for the Muslims of subcontinent a separate independent state. Allama Iqbal bequeathed his political will to the Quaid-e-Azam and was satisfied that it was in safe hands.

How did the Quaid execute the will and fulfilled the task? This is what Ibadur Rahman Khan has tried to narrate in faithful and convincing manner in the following pages. The book shall be regarded as a welcome addition to the available literature on the life and times of the Quaid and timely corrective to much thinking on the subject.

PROFESSOR MOHAMMAD MUNAWAR

PREFACE

I had a rare opportunity to meet Mr. Jinnah personally in 1936. In those days he was plain Mr. Jinnah. I was then a student in Anglo Arabic College, Delhi now renamed as Zakir Hussain Trust College, Delhi. He was invited by the College union, as a guest speaker. The principal of the college, Mr. C. Eyer Walker, and Professor Mirza Mahmood Baig, incharge of the social activities in the college, asked me to escort Mr. Jinnah, from his residence 10 Aurang-Zeb Road, New Delhi to the college hall.

I was conscious of Jinnah's love for punctuality. I reached his bungalow at about 5.30 p.m. The moment I entered the main gate of his bungalow, I saw him coming out of his drawing room. He greeted me with a warm handshake and hearty greeting words, "Hello my dear boy! how are you?" and took me to his drawing room. Exactly at 5.45 p.m. his sister Miss Fatima Jinnah entered the drawing room. She too greeted me with the same words of welcome and with a soft smile on her face. Right at that time the driver brought in the car at the porch. We all three came out and got into the car, and reached the college. When Mr. Jinnah stepped up the dais the wall clock in the hall struck 6 o'clock. Such was his attitude towards punctuality. (Miss Fatima Jinnah, said that he always gave top priority to punctuality).

In his short address to the students he advised them to attend to their studies with complete devotion. He asked them to abide by the rules and regulations of the institution

and strictly abide by the law of the country. He abhorred lawlessness.

He had often been the chief guest at the college annual dinner, and at other social functions, Miss Fatima Jinnah always accompanied him in all private or public functions.

After completion of my education I used to attend his meetings and listen to his speeches that he delivered to the students of the Muslim University, Aligarh, and Anglo Arabic College, Delhi, I would not miss to listen his speeches in the public meetings as well.

His personality, his talks, his adherence to honesty and truth at all times under all circumstances, his straightforwardness, his feeling for everyone. His rock like unshakable determination made great impression on my mind and inspired everyone around him.

Since the good old days of my college life it had been my cherished life long wish to write about Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, as I saw him and the Muslims of India saw him. He fought for a separate homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent, India, against all odds and without going to the jails, that his Hindu contemporaries felt proud of going to, without raising any army and going to battle, and firing any volleys of bombs on his enemies he won freedom for the Muslims and a sovereign independent state from the two powerful adversaries, the Hindus and the British Government. His winning tools and most powerful weapons were the Law and the "Constitution".

I have given the title to the book, "Jinnah – The Conqueror" of which his achievements bear testimony. It has been admitted by both his friends and foes, that Jinnah performed a unique and unparalleled feat of the history by sheer dint of his irrefutable logic, based on law and constitutional principles and that logic that had all the strength of truth and reasons, which no one, could rebut or refute.

I have had the privilege of being a personal witness to the historic events which I have tried with utmost care to narrate objectively.

Jinnah by dint of his moral and legal force achieved which the greatest warriors, could not without causing wholesale manslaughter.

Without any hesitation, doubts or prejudices he was definitely the greatest winner – the Conqueror, who made what seemed impossible–PAKISTAN.

IBADUR RAHMAN KHAN

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I am also grateful to S. Baqar Hussain, Professor in North Carolina University, who made invaluable contributions in making useful suggestions. His appreciating note encouraged me to complete the book. Fortunately he, too, had been a student of the Anglo Arabic College, Delhi in those days, where he was also one of the personal witnesses to the great role of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. I also acknowledge timely and useful advice of an old stalwart Muslim Leaguer, sincere and selfless worker, Ch. Muhammad Hussain Chattha. He is the great admirer and ardent lover of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. I owe my highest gratitude to him for helping and encouraging me to undertake this noble work and making a constructive review of this book. I am also grateful to Professor Rafi Ullah Khan, a learned historian and an

educationist, Professor Muhammad Munawar Mirza, Director of Allama Iqbal Academy, Lahore, Mufti Lutfullah, Secretary Agriculture Department, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad and Col. Muzzaffar Ali Khan, Deputy Secretary Establishment Division, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad for their valuable contribution in reviewing, editing and making appropriate corrections. It was gracious of them that they did all this out of sheer love for the Quaid-e-Azam, and Pakistan. May God bless them and reward them well. "Ameen".

IBADUR RAHMAN KHAN

CHAPTER I

LEADER BORN

On December 25, 1876, God blessed a Muslim Khoja family in Karachi with a son.[1] God destined this earth, this place, to be the future seat of a new born Islamic Sovereign State and a homeland of the Muslims of the subcontinent, India. What an auspicious day it was. God created a man who would be one of the most famous and greatest leaders of the world. A leader who will liberate the 100 million Muslims of the subcontinent, India from the slavery of the British government; who would save the Muslims of India from getting under the yoke of Hindu slavery. He will be one who will change the course of history. He will modify the geography of the world and chart out an Islamic Sovereign State. He will bring a nation into life. The celestial universe foresaw in this man's future the highest achievement that he would bring in for his fellow country men. God had blessed him with all the characteristic principles that have been ordained in the holy Quran - truth, honesty, fair play, love for human beings, absolute faith in God, and unshakable rock – like firm determination.

His parents named him Muhammad Ali Jinnah. After completing his elementary and high school education in Karachi and Bombay[2], on the advice of an English friend, his father sent him to England for study of law. He joined the Lincoln's Inn. The reason for his joining that institution, that he explained later in 1947, while addressing the Karachi

bar association was, that on the main entrance gate, the name of the Holy Prophet – Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) was on the top of the panel of the most influential persons of the world who gave law to the world.[3] That shows his love for law and Islam – a religion that stands for absolute supremacy of law and its strict application in all spheres of life, at all times under all circumstances without any distinction of caste, creed, colour, sex or any social status. He was born in a Muslim family. He believed in Islam, its ethics and codes. He believed in one God, one Holy Book and the last prophet – Muhammad (p.b.u.h.).

After completing his study in law, he was called to the bar in 1895[4] at the age of 19, the youngest who ever entered this field.

In 1896 he returned to India. Finding very little chance to make his career in the field of law in Karachi, he went to Bombay. There he came in contact with an advocate John Molesworth Macpherson. Macpherson finding in this young law man, great talent in putting up his cases allowed him to work in his chamber.[7]

Jinnah – The Lawyer

Jinnah pursued his legal practice with the highest sense of duty and honesty. Once a big businessman Haji Abdul Karim asked Jinnah to take up his case. Jinnah said he would charge 500 rupees a day. Haji Abdul Karim agreed to Jinnah's terms and said he had 5,000 in all which he could offer. Jinnah replied that he would charge 500 per day, nothing less. Jinnah took the case and got it over and won within three days. As per agreement, Jinnah charged him 1,500 rupees. Haji Abdul Karim tried to pay him more in grace, but Jinnah refused to accept any grace money saying "I stand to my commitment".[9]

While attending the Parliament House proceedings in London, he was very much fascinated by an Indian national, Dada Bhai Noaroji. Jinnah worked enthusiastically

for him and it was due to his eloquent and fiery promotion that Dada Bhai was elected a member of the British Parliament - the first Indian ever to sit in the House of Commons.

Jinnah was scrupulously honest with his clients. One of his admirers, talking to his friends, of his honest dealings with his clients said, "I have never heard of his injustice or sturdy act. It was not in his nature".[10]

He was always brief and to the point in presenting his case. During legal presentations there was nobody to equal him in legal arguments. He was what God made him and not what he made himself. He always presented pure logic. No one could deny his power of arguments. When he presented his arguments logically according to the law he became invincible. He was a man without malice, however hard he may be but without malice. He had no interest beyond his work and mission.[11] He had always, even in his earlier days shown considerable independence and courage. He never allowed himself to be overborne either by the judge or the opposing council.[12]

His courage and sheer brilliance won him fame in the law courts of Bombay. He reached the height of eminence as a barrister. His method of penetrating cross-examination, his gift of persuasive pleading, added by irrefutable arguments supported by law, cast a spell in the courtroom, on the judges, the jury, the solicitors and clients, all alike.[13]

In Bombay, he met Mrs. Sarojini Naidu one of the most sophisticated polished and learned lady politician. She was so much impressed by Jinnah's elegant appearance, more smartly dressed than any English man, that she developed great liking for him. While expressing her feelings for Jinnah, she said "never there was a nature whose outer qualities provided an anti-thesis of its inner worth. Tall and stately, but thin to the point of emaciation, languid and luxurious of habits. Muhammad Ali Jinnah's attenuated form is the deceptive sheath of a spirit of exceptional vitality

and endurance. Preeminently rational and practical, discreet and dispassionate in his estimate and acceptance of life."[15]

NOTES

1 *Encyclopedia of Britannica*, 15th edition, 1986, vol. 6, p. 555.
2 *Ibid.*, 555.
3 *Jinnah, Creator of Pakistan*, Hector Bolitho, p. 9.
4 *Encyclopedia of Britannica*, 15th edition, 1986, vol. 6, p. 555.
5 *Ibid.*
6 *Ibid.*
7 *Jinnah, Creator of Pakistan*, Hector Bolitho, p. 15.
8 *Ibid.*, 17.
9 *Ibid.*, 21.
10 *Jinnah, Creator of Pakistan*, Hector Bolitho. p. 17.1.
11 *Encyclopedia of Britannica*, 15th edition 1986, vol. 6, p. 555.
12 *Ibid.*, 18.
13 *Ibid.*
14 *Recollection and Reflections*, Sir Chiman Lal Setalvad, 1957.
15 *Leaders of India*, p. 79.

CHAPTER II

THE FIELD OF POLITICS

During his successful practice of law, Jinnah had been making a keen study of politics and political affairs in India. In London, he had also been attending British Parliament Sessions. There he sufficiently equipped himself in the study of the parliamentary system. He had also been making a keen study of some of the renowned politicians. He came in contact with Gopal Krishnan Gokhale, a Marahata leader, Dada Bhai Noaroji and Sir Feroze Shah Mehta. Jinnah was greatly impressed by their work and principles.

When he came to India, in those days, All India Congress was the only working political party. After making a study of All India Congress working party members' zeal and honesty of purpose, he decided to join the Congress.

In Bombay the Congress held its twentieth annual session in 1904, under the chairmanship of Sir Feroze Shah Mehta. He was in those days a very prominent person. He was known among his fellow citizens as a very enthusiastic and forceful political worker; also known as an uncrowned King of Bombay.

Sir Feroze Shah Mehta in his presidential address said "I do not think that the salvation of India can merely be sought in the field of politics, unless we are allowed to play at all time a modest and temperate part in the field of politics".[1]

In that session Jinnah took up politics as his second career and joined the Congress. As his nature was, whatever work or project he took in his hands, he put his head and heart in its accomplishment. He earnestly started working for the people of India.

He believed in complete unity and harmony among all the communities, especially the Hindus and the Muslims. Sir Feroze Shah Mehta was so much impressed by his honesty of purpose, zeal and legal abilities, that he chose M. A. Jinnah to be sent to London along with Gopal Krishnan Gokhale to represent the Indian people in the Imperial Government in Britain.

Jinnah was of the opinion that India would not achieve independence unless Hindus and Muslims unite together with liberal mind, acknowledging each other's rights without any prejudices of caste and ethnic distinction.

In order to achieve freedom, he wanted persons of integrity and unprejudiced mind to work with him. At times he said "give me three leaders to join me over a united programme and Sawaraj (independence) will not be a mere dream, but a matter brought within realms of real politics".[2]

Jinnah declared "I believe all thinking men are thoroughly convinced that the key note of our progress lies in good will, concord, harmony and cooperation between the two great sister communities. The true focus of progress is centered in their union. I would, therefore, appeal to my Hindu friends to be generous and liberal and welcome and encourage other activities of Muslims, even if it involves some sacrifice. The Hindus and Muslims should unite and use every constitutional and legitimate means to effect that transfer as soon as possible".[3] He was speaking at the Bombay provincial conference in 1916 at Ahmedabad. Observing his zeal and spirit, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, a very prominent and able politician, called him "the ambassador of Hindu–Muslim unity".[4]

It was all due to his personal efforts that he managed to call the Congress and the Muslim League to hold their combined session in 1915 in Bombay and again in 1916 in Luckhnow.[5] In that session, the Congress–League cooperation pact, called the Luckhnow Pact, was formulated and signed (from which later on the Congress backed out). In this pact, the two organizations agreed to a scheme to bring in a constitutional reform in which a joint demand was placed before the British Government for the grant of self government to the Indian people.

Jinnah, was strictly a constitution-minded person. He abhorred unlawful activities, violence and any activity carried out in breach of law. In 1920 on August 1, Gandhi gave a call to a non-cooperation movement to be launched, Jinnah disapproved and protested against such unlawful activities which, he thought, would lead to violence and riots. He refused to align himself with Gandhi's unlawful activities. Finding Gandhi's way of working detrimental and opposed to his principles, he disowned his alliance with such organization that adopted unlawful and unconstitutional methods in achieving its goal.

Jinnah's efforts to bring about harmony and unity between the Congress and the Muslim League enhanced his interaction and affiliations with the Muslim League. Gandhi's unlawful activities made Jinnah to quit the Congress.

Muslim League

Originally the idea of forming a separate and independent political party was given by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in 1867, when a Hindu leader in Banaras started a movement to replace Urdu by Hindi. From that very moment Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was convinced that Hindus and Muslims would never achieve mutual harmony.

In his speech in 1883, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan said, "Now suppose that all the English were to leave India, then who

would be the ruler of India. Is it possible that under those circumstances two nations, Muhammadans and Hindus could sit on the same throne and remain equal in power. Most certainly not".[6] Sir Syed Ahmed Khan predicted that separation of the two chief races in India was inevitable.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was convinced that Muslims could not possibly expect any fair treatment or equal rights under Hindu Congress. He was, in principle, opposed to the Congress aims and methods which he found absolutely detrimental to the Muslims interests. He thought that the Muslims will always be a desperately helpless minority and would always find themselves treated as untouchables. The Hindus and the Muslims have nothing in common. They are widely singled out in race, religion, social forms and customs. Whereas the Congress was an organization of high caste Brahmans who always looked down upon Mussalmans and regarded them as untouchables.

He further said "since the Congress did not represent Muslims from any part of India, it cannot claim to be a truly national body. I am firmly of the opinion that the Congress will be harmful for the Muslims. If the Congress aims are fulfilled, the Muslims of India would be reduced to the position of a cursed people like Jews".[7]

In 1906, Nawab Saleem Ullah Khan of Dacca took the first opportunity to think of forming and organizing an independent Muslim group, representing entirely the Muslims of India. Nawab Saleem Ullah Khan, describing the plight of Mussalmans of India, said, "there is no doubt that many of our educated Muhammadans find themselves shoved of the line of official performance and promotion, unless they joined or at least show sympathy with the Congress".[8] Thus a separate Muslim Party came into existence which at a later stage took its name as All India Muslim League.

The first session of the Muslim League Organizing Committee was held under the chairmanship of Nawab

Waqarul-Mulk on December 30, 1906. In this session it was:

"Resolved that this meeting comprised of Mussalmans from all parts of India assembled at Dacca decides that political association styled "the Indian Muslim League" has been formed for furtherance of following objects:

(a) To promote among the Muslims of India the feeling of loyalty to the British Government and remove any misconception that may arise as to the intentions of the government with regard to any of its measures.

(b) To prevent the rise among the Mussalmans of India of any feelings of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the other objects of the League.

(c) To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Mussalmans of India.[9]

In a session held at Aligarh Muslim University in 1925, Sir Abdur Rahim said "Hindus have by their provocative and aggressive conduct, made it clear that the Muslims cannot entrust their fate to them and must adopt every possible means of self defence".[10]

Goodbye to Congress

Jinnah had joined the Muslim League in 1913. In 1916 he was unanimously elected as the President of All India Muslim League and in 1909 he was elected to represent the Bombay Muslims in the Imperial Legislative Council. Although Jinnah had joined the Muslim League yet his efforts continued to bring harmony and union between Hindus and Muslims. On many occasions, he repeatedly said, "Hindus and Muslims should unite and use every constitutional and legitimate means to effect that transfer as soon as possible".[11]

In 1923, Jinnah addressing a meeting of the Muslim League in Lahore stressed that "One essential requisite

condition to achieve Sawaraj (independence) is political unity between Hindus and Muslims. I am almost inclined to say that India will get dominion responsible government, the day Hindus and Mussalmans are united. Sawaraj is almost an interchangeable term with Hindu–Muslim unity".[12]

In his last effort to bring unity, he said in an address at a press conference in New Delhi in 1934 "Can we even at this eleventh hour bury the hatchet and forget the past in the presence of imminent danger". He further said "nothing will give me greater happiness than to bring along cooperation and friendship between Hindus and Muslims, and in this desire my impression is that I have the solid support of Mussalmans. Muslims are in no way behind any other community in their demand for national self government".[13]

But Jinnah's efforts based on sincerity to bring unity between the Hindus and the Muslims proved fruitless. Hindu leaders, Gandhi, Nehru and their companions remained adamant. They refused to recognize Muslims as a nation. Nehru would not grant any concession to the Muslims' rights. Thus Jinnah finally decided to give up all hopes of bringing any unity between the two nations. He started reorganizing the Muslim League to fight for the fundamental rights of the Muslims.

Mushroom Parties

Both in the reorganization of the All India Muslim League and the demand for a separate homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent India, besides strong opposition by the Congress leaders and the British Government, Jinnah had to accost to a number of self motivated Muslim leaders, mostly backed and supported by the Hindu Congress and the ruling Government. Some high officials in the government like Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, Sir Fazle' Hussain, Mian Shafi and some of the

Ulemas as Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani as well as a militant minded self appointed leader Allama Mashriqi opposed the very idea of Pakistan. Government backed party headed by Sir Fazle' Hussain, Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan formed their separate group named United Board. Ulemas group headed by Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani was named Jamiate' Ullemae' Hind. All these parties had nothing but their personal gains in view. Hardly anyone person or group thought in terms of the collective welfare of the Muslims.

The failure of the first Round Table Conference in 1930-31 was due to Sir Fazle' Hussain's pro-British attitude. In fact he and his colleagues, Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Mian Shafi, Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, Sir Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan, known as Nawab of Chattari, Sir Muhammad Yousaf from U.P. were wishfully thinking of securing awards and titles from the British authorities. Besides that, the Hindu Congress had allured them by throwing open their unlimited wealth both in the form of cash and kind. Another group opposing Jinnah, headed by Abdul Ghaffar Khan in N.W.F.P. was strongly backed by the Congress. He felt proud to be called the Frontier Gandhi and preferred to go to Hindu Ashram, sit at the feet of Gandhi, press his feet and get a red *tilak* marked on his forehead. All these mushroom parties played in the hands of the British government or the Hindu leaders.

Jinnah with his clear principles, strictly abiding by law and adhering to the Constitutional methods, and rock-like firm determination withstood all these opposition parties' onslaughts. He handled these mushroom parties with great tact. All these parties finally succumbed to and accepted All India Muslim League as the sole representative body of the Muslims of subcontinent of India and considered the division of India into two separate independent states, Pakistan and India, the only solution for achieving freedom. Even the Hindu leaders, who had declared that Pakistan

would only be created over their dead bodies had finally to agree to the division of India into two separate independent states. The British authorities who called Pakistan a mad man's dream had accepted and agreed to the division of India. But the adamant Khan brothers in N.W.F P. brazenly refused to accept the inevitable principle of division. This group in league with the Congress suggested to get a referendum conducted with the hope of winning over the opinion of Pathan people of N.W.F.P. but they were defeated. The majority of the people voted in favour of Pakistan.

Jinnah overcame all these hurdles with great success and won Pakistan. He succeeded in saving the Muslims of subcontinent of India from getting into Hindu domination.

NOTES

1 *President Feroze Shah's Address to the Calcutta Congress, 1890,* quoted by Stanley Wolpert, Jinnah of Pakistan, p. 20.
2 *Syed, Jinnah,* pp. 400–2.
3 *Ibid.,* append, pp. 854-55.
4 Mrs. Sarojini Nadoo's Title for Jinnah in Nadoo-Ambassador".
5 *Encyclopedia of Britannica,* 15th edition, 1986, vol. 6, p. 555.
6 Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, speaking before the delegates of the Muhammadan Education Conference at Luckhnow, December 12, 1857.
7 *Sir Syed's Writings,* p. 207.
8 *Foundation of Pakistan* by Syed Sharif ud Din Pirzada, vol. 1 (p. xlix).
9 *Ibid.,* lxi.
10 *Pakistan Movement Historic Documents* by G. Allana, pp. 22-23.
11 *Jinnah, Syed,* append. II, p. 842.
12 *Pirzada-Foundations,* vol. 1, pp. 576-77.
13 *Ibid.,* vol. ii, p. 233.

CHAPTER III

PAKISTAN

The fight for independence dates back to the days of May 1857, when some of the Indian army units, under the British control in Meerut, revolted and took up arms against the Government. This movement expanded to Delhi, Agra, Cawnpur and Luckhnow. Although it was soon brought under control at the point of bayonet, but the spirit to get freedom kept on smoldering even after it was temporarily suppressed. The subcontinent of India was inhabited by many nationalities of different beliefs and faith; among them there were two major nations – the Hindus and the Muslims.

Hindus believed in idol worshipping. They had their different gods for different purposes such as Lakshmi – goddess of wealth, Kali – goddess of evil and so on. They worship cow, whereas Muslims eat cow. Muslims believe in One God – the Creator and the Sustainer of the whole Universe – the Heavens and the Earth.

These two major nations are different in their religions and ideological outlook.

Apart from other problems, the major issues that caused a great split between the two nations, was a movement started by a prominent Hindu leader in 1867 in Banaras, to replace Urdu language, spoken all over India, by a sectarian language, Hindi. The underlying idea was to efface other communities and see Hinduism to prevail.

In those days Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the founder of Muslim University in Aligarh, who was the passionate champion of Hindu–Muslim unity, had to reconsider his idea of bringing the two major nations together. He realized that the Hindus and Muslims would never reconcile to each other and in order to live in peace, each must have its own separate independent homeland. He was convinced that these were two different communities.

Making a deep study of the situation and circumstances prevailing in India, finding prejudiced and hostile attitude of Hindus towards Muslims, Chaudhry Rehmat Ali, in his inaugural address delivered at the time of inauguration of Bazmi-Shibli in Islamia College, Lahore, in 1915, said "we are Muslims, our religion, culture, history, tradition, economic system, law of inheritance, succession and marriage, are basically and fundamentally different from those of the people living in the rest of India. We do not inter dine, we do not intermarry, our national customs and calendar, even our diet and dress are different". He declared, "North India is Muslim and we will keep it a Muslim state. But this we can do only if and when we and our North cease to be "Indian". So the sooner we shed "Indianism", the better for us and Islam[2].

Addressing the annual session of all India Muslim League at Ahmedabad in 1930, Allama Iqbal, observed: "To base a constitution on the concept of a homogeneous India or to apply to India the principles dictated by British democratic sentiments, is unwittingly to prepare her for civil war. I, therefore, demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim state in the best interest of India and Islam".[3] Again in 1933, Chaudhry Rehmat Ali, founder of Muslim National Movement, in his pamphlet "Now or Never" issued from his residence, 3 Humberstone Road, Cambridge, England, said, "In the five northern provinces with a population of about 40 million, we the Muslims constitute 30 million. Our religion and culture, our history

and tradition, our social code and economic system, our law of inheritance, succession and marriage are fundamentally different from those of most people living in the rest of India. We do not inter dine, we do not intermarry, our national customs and calendar, even our diet are different. If we the Muslims of Pakistan, with our distinct marks of Nationality are diluted into the proposed Indian plan by friends or foes, we are reduced to a minority of one in ten. This reduction sounds the death of our nation in Pakistan... we are convinced that there can be no peace and progress in India if we the Muslims are dumped into a Hindu dominated federation in which we cannot be masters of our own destiny and captain of our own souls." Talking of safeguards, he classified "what safeguards can compensate our nation? None! Because our effective and extensive safeguards, the vital organs and essential departments of our national life, such as defence forces and foreign relations, trade and commerce, communications, post and telegraphs, finance taxation and customs will not be under our control but will be in the hands of federal government which is bound to be overwhelmingly Hindu. With all this, can we the Muslims, achieve any of our ideals with the idols of the Hindus? The issue is "Now or Never". Either we live or perish for ever".[4]

In India in those days, the situation was such that Hindus were least prepared to have the Muslims of India talk of their basic rights. The Hindu Congress under the garb of nationalism was all out to establish purely Hindu Raj. It was then that Khan Liaquat Ali Khan, along with his wife Raana Liaquat Ali Khan went to England in 1934 and met Jinnah with a view to persuading him to return to India and reorganize the All India Muslim League. Khan Liaquat Ali Khan persuaded Jinnah by saying "You must come back. The people need you".

Jinnah returned to India in 1934. He started reorganizing the All India Muslim League. While doing so he once again

attempted to bring the Hindus and Muslims together on one platform and make a united effort to gain freedom, but without success. The Congress remained adamant and refused to pay any heed to his appeal.

The Congress took no notice of Jinnah's appeal. The Congress was averse to Jinnah's call and refused to acknowledge and accept All India Muslim League as an authoritative political body representing the Muslims of India.

Nehru refused to accept the Muslims of India as a nation. While addressing a gathering of Congress party in Ambala in 1937, he arrogantly announced, "There are only two forces in the country, the Congress and the British Government. It is the Congress alone which is capable of fighting the ruling Government.".[6] Jinnah immediately refuted Nehru's preposterous claim and replied "I refuse to line up with the Congress. There is a third party in this country and that is the Mussalmans".[7]

In his usual contemptuous tone, Nehru asked "who are the Muslims? Only those who follow Jinnah and Muslim League".[8] Such arrogant announcements by prominent leaders of Hindu Congress confirmed the opinion and judgement of late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, expressed by him in 1867. In the national Congress meeting held at Calcutta on December 28, 1928, where Jinnah was also invited to attend, Sir Tej Bahadar Sapru exclaimed "Jinnah! I have known him intimately for 15 years! If he is a spoiled child, a naughty child, I am prepared to say, give him what he wants and be finished with it".[9] Another Hindu leader M. R. Jayakar, staunch Hindu Mahasabhaite, said, "Jinnah represents a small minority of Muslims". In reply to these taunting remarks Jinnah calmly said "we are here, as I understand for the purpose of entering into a solemn contract and all parties who enter into it will have to work for it and fight for it together. What we want is that Hindus and Muslims should march together until our object is

attained. Do you want or do you not want the Muslims of India to go along with you ...Yes! I am a naughty child. If they are small points, why not concede? ... let us at any rate agree to differ but let us part as friends".[10]

Jinnah made sincere efforts to bring unity and harmony between Hindus and Muslims, about which Sir Cowasji Jehangir, a polished Parsi leader said, "I can assure you that he was sincere about Hindu – Muslim unity. Whatever faults he had, political trickery was not one of them".[11] The Hindu leaders gave little thought to the importance of Hindu–Muslim unity. Instead they always scorned it off and looked at Jinnah and the All India Muslim League with great contempt. In fact they were intoxicated with their numerical predominance over the Muslims. Hence they would ignore the Muslims' lawful demands for basic rights. The leaders of the Hindu Congress were not prepared to accept the Muslims as a nation. Nehru always contemptuously announced "the Muslims are a simple minority". To which Jinnah time and again emphatically reminded: "Muslims are not a minority. Muslims are a nation by any definition". He had been telling and urging the Hindu Congress to accept this fact and acknowledge the Muslims as a Nation and stop their venomous propaganda against Mussalmans, stop denying them of their basic rights. But the tragedy was that without any exception all the Hindu leaders were bent upon bringing the Muslims under the yoke of their Hindu Raj.

Gandhi would declare that Hindu–Muslims were Bhai-Bhai. For this misleading slogan Jinnah said, "Gandhi says Hindu–Muslims were Bhai-Bhai (brothers) to each other. I ask Gandhi to stop this double faced policy. If Gandhi is sincere in his claim of Hindu–Muslim Bhai-Bhai, I ask him to come around and sit on one table with me. I offer him a glass of water. Will he take it? No!". Not to talk of accepting any eatable at the hands of Mussalmans, a Hindu does not like to shake hand with a Mussalman.

And if per chance he shook hands with a Muslim, he would immediately rush to the bathroom and wash his hands ten times to wash off the pollution.[12] While addressing a gathering of the students of the historic Anglo Arabic College, Delhi in 1937, where the author in those days being a student of that college, had the privilege to attend and listen to his speeches, Jinnah said "Mr. Gandhi wants Sawaraj (independence). Well! what kind of Sawaraj he wants? For him Sawaraj is a cow, of which he wants Sikhs to stand in front holding her by horns, the Muslims to stand behind, holding her tail, with the bucket underneath and take all shit and kicks, while Hindu takes away all the milk. I say, let Gandhi know, this will never happen".[12a]

Gandhi wanted to establish the Hindu Raj and keep the hundred million Mussalmans under the crushing heel of Hindu slavery. The Congress leaders claimed that the Congress was a national body. Their claim was baseless and unjustified. What about the 60 million non-Caste Hindus whom the caste Hindus regard as "untouchables". They were not allowed to draw water from the well from which a Brahman would draw water. They were not allowed to enter the Caste-Hindus houses, or get near him, or even touch his clothes. If per chance their clothes were touched by an untouchable, those clothes were thrown away, and burnt in order to wash off the pollution from their bodies. Does Congress represent Non-Brahmans and other minorities? Does it represent the Sikhs? Inclusion of a few self seekers and "purchased people", keeping them on one or two key positions as show pieces, does not qualify its claim to be a national body. One of the top leaders of "untouchables", Doctor Ambedkar openly declared that "Gandhi is the greatest enemy the untouchables have ever had in India.[13] In order to hoodwink the world, Gandhi made his mission not to allow the untouchables mix up with any other community in order to keep them under the yoke of Hinduism. He resorted to live in a camouflaged

hut and named his new colony as "Harijan Colony". He would not take them in the fold of Hinduism and yet keep on announcing at the beat of drum that they were their brothers. He preached and urged them, "Do not leave Hinduism. Remain in it without being of it".[14]

Going back to the year 1913, a prominent Hindu leader Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal said in May 1913 "The Nationalist movement in India, which so far is essentially a Hindu movement stands:

(1) Practically for Hindu Nationalism.
(2) Practically for the preservation of the distinctive genius and character of Hindu culture and civilization."

Another great Hindu leader Lala Lajpat Rai, a staunch Hindu Mahasabhaite, wrote to C. R. Das, "I have devoted most of my time during the last six months to the study of Muslim History and Muslim Law and I am inclined to think, it is neither possible nor practicable for the Hindus and Muslims to unite. Assuming and admitting that sincerity of Mohammedan leaders in the non-cooperation movement, I think their religion provides an effective ban to anything of this kind ... I do and sincerely believe in the necessity or desirability of Hindu–Muslim unity. I am also fully prepared to trust the Muslim leaders. But what about the injunction of Quran and Hadis? The leaders cannot override them".[15]

Addressing a gathering in 1938 Jinnah said,"Congress has now killed every hope of Hindu–Muslim settlement in the right Royal fashion of "Fascism"."

The Congress High Command makes the preposterous claim that they are entitled to speak on behalf of India, that they alone are capable of delivering the goods I want to make it plain to all concerned that we Muslims want no gifts. We shall have them as rights. The Congress is nothing but a Hindu body, the presence of a few Muslims, the few misled and misguided ones, and the few who are there

with ulterior motives, does not and cannot make it a national body ... I ask does the Congress represent the Muslims? ...Who is the genius behind it? Mr. Gandhi! I have no hesitation in saying that it is Mr. Gandhi who is destroying the idea with which the Congress was started. He is the one man responsible for turning the Congress into an instrument for the revival of Hinduism ... His ideal is to revive the Hindu religion and establish Hindu Raj in this country, and he is utilizing the Congress to further his object".[16]

In September 1939, German Nazis declared an open war against Britain. At this crucial time the British government needed all cooperation from its allied forces...the Indians. Gandhi taking a shelter behind his "Ahinsa"--non-violence policy stepped aside saying that, "the war is one of greater horrors ... but the greater horror would prevent me today from becoming the self appointed recruiting sergeant ... I would at once ask the English to lay down arms ... die unresisting and go down in history as hero of non-violence. I would further invite Indians to cooperate with the English men in the Godly martyrdom".[17] In this cunning way Gandhi showed his indifferent attitude towards cooperation in war efforts, the folly of which all the Hindu leaders realized later on but with a view to keeping a sham face remained mum. Since Gandhi had guilty conscience, he begged the Viceroy not to consult the Muslim League. At the same time Nehru replied from his Wardha resort, "A slave India cannot help Britain". Gandhi said, "the Congress will be no party to it, nor can the India of Congress conception be a partner with Britain in her war with Herr Hitler" and arrogantly thought that the British government will fall".[19]

The Hindu leaders thought that it was time to coerce the British government and bring her down to her knees and submit to the unthoughtful desire to grant them Sawaraj forgetting that in case the British government goes down

fighting the German Nazis, India would be under the slavery of another new government, German Nazi or Japan. And in case a new master took over, India would have to fight for freedom de novo which may take another century or two.

In their haughty way, the Congress ministry resigned under the false misconception that they would bring down the British Government. No! they rather miscalculated their power. Soon after the resignation of dictatorial Congress governments, Jinnah made a call for observing a "Deliverance Day" as thanks giving day, as a mark of relief from the tyranny of Hindu Raj. In calling for the observance of "Deliverance Day", he asked them to observe it on Friday December 22, 1939. Jinnah observed, "the Congress ministry has conclusively demonstrated and proved the falsehood of the Congress claim that it represents all interests justly and fairly, by its decidedly anti-Muslim policy; the Congress ministry both in the discharge of their duties of administration and with legislation have done their best to flout the Muslim opinion, to destroy Muslim culture, and have interfered with their religious and social life, and trampled their economic and political rights".[20]

The observance of "Deliverance Day" was greatly hailed by all the non-Congress Hindus, leaders of the Justice Party Periyar E. V. Rama Sawami Naicker and his followers the scheduled castes and the Parsis. Once again the claim of the Congress to represent all parties proved false and baseless.

On the declaration of the World War II by the German Nazis against British Empire, Linlithgow, the then Viceroy wrote to Jinnah asking to see him to discuss the war efforts cooperation by the Muslims of India. Jinnah, in the first place, was surprised to get such an invitation, as before that the British Government only recognized the Congress to be the only political party in India. Commenting on the Viceroy's invitation, while talking to the All India Muslim

League, Jinnah said "so the British Government has finally come to its senses and has realized that Mussalmans also exist and they have their sole and authoritative representative political party "the Muslim League". "That was the first step towards the Muslims to be recognized as a nation. Jinnah here again reiterated and repeated "we the Mussalmans of India are not a minority. We are a nation, and a nation cannot be easily by-passed while deciding the fate of the subcontinent, India. A nation has a right to demand a separate homeland to live in as a free nation. Surely, India is not the sole property of the Congress ... So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realized, any constitution that may be built will result in disaster ... the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into autonomous national states.[21]

Gandhi claimed that India was one nation while making his observations on Jinnah's call for observance of Deliverance Day, Jinnah categorically replied to Gandhi's baseless boasts and said "India is not a nation, nor a country. It is a subcontinent comprised of nationalities, Hindus and Muslims being the two majority nations. Today you deny that religion can be a main factor in determining a nation, but you yourself, when asked what your motive in life was, the things that leads us to do, what we do whether it was religious, or social or political, said, "purely Religious".[22]

Going back to the cooperation in the war efforts, the British Government realized that the British Indian Army mostly consisted of the Mussalmans. Mussalmans being the warrior nation, at all times, have a glorious history of their heroic war achievements. They wisely thought of taking the Muslims of India in confidence. For that Linlithgow invited Jinnah to discuss the ways and means to boost up the war efforts. Jinnah had a full insight of the war situation. Unlike Gandhi, Nehru and other Hindu

leaders, he was of the opinion that Muslims of India should fully cooperate with the British Government and help winning the war. He realized that the British defeat would bring to India new masters and it would require a very long time to gain freedom. But the Hindus were not prepared to accept the logic. They rather preferred to be the slaves of the Japanese. So they secretly slipped off their great hero Subhas Chandar Bos, who managed to get out to Germany alongwith a contingent of his own dissident army men and openly declared his allegiance to the Axis powers.

It had always been Jinnah's policy to discuss every matter with his Muslim League members and legislative colleagues. During the discussion, he would ask his colleagues "Do you want me to instigate every member of the army from the Sepoy upwards to an officer ... that they should commit an act of insubordination? I am unable to do so. If I instigate the army today it will be only disastrous to me and not to the opponents when I want to hit".[23]

Why Jinnah gave up the hope of any reconciliation with the Hindus? It was not one incident, but multiple other factors that have already been explained, which led him to the conclusion that there was no possibility of bringing Hindus round to have union with Muslims. "We must stand on our own inherent strength and build up our own power. He further made it clear, that "if the Mussalmans are going to be defeated in their national goal and aspirations, it will only be by the betrayal of the Mussalmans among us as it has happened in the past[24]. The Hindu leaders on their part continued their malicious propaganda against Jinnah.

Gandhi's efforts had always been to cause rift between the scheduled caste and Muslims. He urged the Muslims not to support any cause of the untouchables, specially their demand for special representation. Gandhi and Nehru intended to establish purely a Hindu oligarchy in the garb

of democracy. Jinnah had continuously been telling the Hindu leaders that by wearing *khaddar*, spinning and adopting *ahinsa* as their catch word would not bring them freedom.

It was Hindu leaders' obstinate attitude that forced the Muslims of India to ask for the partition of India in order to have an independent sovereign state of their own.

The Hindu leaders brazenly accused Jinnah for promoting communal prejudices, whereas it were they who always infused communal hatred among all others than caste Hindus. The Hindus accused Jinnah to be suffering from obsession and egoism, as they thought he wanted to be a great leader. They forgot that it was Jinnah who ardently desired Hindu–Muslim unity. Nehru was an avowed enemy of Jinnah. One of the reasons for his disliking Jinnah was that Jinnah had always been very well smartly dressed up. That unconsciously fell heavy on his mind and in a way hurt his ego. Nehru called Jinnah an uncultured person and thought that Jinnah's knowledge was nothing beyond newspapers, forgetting that even his adversaries acknowledged his capabilities and power of his knowledge.

Jinnah started to pursue his demand for the division of India with full force. Speaking of division he said "Gandhi says vivisection of India is a sin ... History has presented us many examples, such as of great Britain and Ireland, Czechoslovakia and Poland. History has also shown us many geographical tracts much smaller than India. Examine the statement." We Hungarians and Germans have lived side by side for a thousand years and a thousand years have not been sufficient to build up a friendship ... there can be no hope that the two people will be on peaceful terms with each other".[25] We know that the history of the last twelve hundred years has failed to achieve unity and has witnessed during the ages India alone divided into Hindu India and Muslim India. Hindus and Muslims

brought together under a democratic system forced upon the minorities can only mean Hindu Raj ... we have had ample experience of two and a half years and any repetitions of such a government must lead to civil war, and raising of private armies as recommended by Mr. Gandhi to Hindus of Sukkur when he said that they must defend themselves violently or non-violently blow for blow, and if they could not, they must migrate". Jinnah again reiterated that "We stand unequivocally for the freedom of India, and not freedom of one section, or worse still of the Congress caucus and slavery".

Jinnah vehemently demanded of Gandhi to be honest and admit that Congress is a Hindu body, and that he did not represent anybody except the solid body of Hindu people. "Why should not Mr. Gandhi be proud to say ,"I am a Hindu". Congress has solid Hindu backing? I am not ashamed of saying that I am a Mussalman ... why not come as Hindu leader proudly representing your people and let me meet you proudly representing Mussalmans".[26] Finally, despaired of any possibility of bringing unity between Hindus and Muslims, the Muslim League in its 27th Annual Session held at Lahore on 23rd March, 1940 unanimously passed the following resolution demanding a separate independent sovereign state to be named "PAKISTAN".

"Resolved that it is the considered view of the session of the All India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas as in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be granted to constitute "Independent States" in which the consti-

tuent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.
That adequate, effective, and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them and in other parts of India, where the Mussalmans are in a minority adequate effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for their and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.
The session further authorizes the working committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the representative regions of all forces such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary".[27]

NOTES

1 *Jinnah, Creator of Pakistan,* Hector Bolitho, p. 40
2 *Pakistan Movement, Historic Document* by G. Allana, p. 214.
3 *Ibid.,* p. 76.
4 *Ibid.,* pp. 104–110.
5 *Pirzada, Foundation,* vol. ii, p. 233.
6 *Nehru at Ambala, January 1937, Gopal, Nehru,* vol. viii, pp. 7-8
7 *Jinnah in Calcutta, January 1937, the Congress and the Partition of India* by Philip Wanwright p. 96.
8 *Gopal, Nehru,* vol. viii, p. 119.
9 *Syed, Jinnah,* pp. 426-27.
10 *Ibid.,* pp. 428-29.
11 *Jinnah, Creator of Pakistan,* Hecter Bolitho, p. 59.
12 Speaking to the students in the Anglo Arabic College, Delhi, 1938.
13 *Beverlay Nichols-Verdict on India,* p. 28.
14 *Allama Iqbal's statement* issued to the Press on December 6, 1933, *Pakistan Movement, Historic Documents* by G. Allana, p. 115.
15 *Transfer of Power* by K. S. Hassan, pp. 12-13.

16 *Pirzada, Foundation*, vol. ii, pp. 304–6.
17 *Gandhi to Linlithgow*, p. 142.
18 *Gopal, Nehru*, vol. x, p. 185.
19 *Ibid*., 185.
20 *Ahmed, Recent Speeches*, vol. i, p. 110.
21 *Pirzada, Foundation*, vol. ii, pp. 335–37.
22 *Ahmed, Recent Speeches*, vol. i, p. 178.
23 *Pirzada, Foundation*, vol. ii, p. 359.
24 *Ibid*., pp. 368–70.
25 *Transfer of Power* by K. S. Hassan, p. vii.
26 Presidential Address by Quaid-e-Azam at the Lahore Session of the Muslim League on March 23, 1940. *Pakistan Movement Historic Documents* by G. Allana, pp. 181–189.
27 *Ibid*., pp. 172-73.

CHAPTER IV

THE HINDU LEADERS

When we think of Hindu leaders, Gandhi takes the first place. His name was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. He was born on October 22, 1869 in Porbander, a village in Gujrat Khatiawar. He was a bania by caste, the origin being a grocer.[1] He did his Bar-at-law from Temple Inn in England.

On his return to his homeland India, he took up politics as his future life career. He dedicated his whole life for the betterment of his community. Although he never was a regular and registered member of the "All India National Congress" the only political party working in India in those days, yet he dedicated his life for the revival of Hindu rule through the Congress.

He started actively taking part in the Congress activities. He advocated "ahinsa" (non-violence) but behind that slogan he incited violence resulting in unlawful activities. He talked of constitution but never acted constitutionally.

Jinnah, on the other hand an ardent believer in Hindu–Muslim unity, had in the beginning joined the "All India Congress" a political party then working for home rule. He was very much disappointed when Gandhi gave his first call for non-cooperation movement in 1920. Making a comparative study of Gandhi and Jinnah, B. M. A. Mehtar in his book "Whys of Great Indian Conflicts" said of Gandhi:

"Gandhi was a visionary with distinction – showmanship was second nature to him. Gandhi speaks in riddles, while Jinnah never minced words". He further elaborated "Gandhi's philosophy and tactics often plunged millions of people in struggle and turmoil and at times into world miseries and sufferings."[3] That's how Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence worked.

Although Gandhi preached that Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, Harijans were all alike, but he was not prepared to accept the Muslim League as the representative political party of the Muslims of India. He would not allow Mussalmans of India to slaughter a cow. He would not hesitate instigating Hindus to take arms against Mussalmans if they slaughtered the cow.

Gandhi who always preached non-violence, wanted India to remain united through the use of force and violence. "Gandhi – the man of peace – even urged that Indian unity should be maintained by force".[4]

Gandhi was never clear and honest in his sayings. He often evaded the plain and straight-forward speaking. In September 1944 when Gandhi and Jinnah met to work out a formula of independence, he said in his usual elusive language "Congress gave Muslims everything that they had demanded". On that Jinnah said, "the division of subcontinent into India and Pakistan was only on Gandhi's lips".

In May 29, 1931, Willingdon, the then Viceroy of India, wrote to Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister of British government, saying "Gandhi is a curious little devil – always working for an advantage. In all his actions I see the "bania" predominantly over the saint".[5]

Remarking on the situation of India, Wavell wrote "He believes Congress and Gandhi were aiming at gaining advantage of our military straits and with that to confine us to hand over the fate of India to them – the Hindus".

Jinnah said about Gandhi, "He claims to represent the

whole of India. Whereas he does not represent anybody but Hindus".

Gandhi vehemently opposed the division of India, saying "So long as I am alive, I will never agree to the partition of India".[6] But finding no way out to the Muslims demand for Pakistan, Gandhi admitted "Peace is sure to return if Pakistan is agreed upon".[7]

Cecil, the great champion of peace said "Gandhi is the greatest enemy of peace the world has ever had".[8] When Gandhi finds no reasonable way to solve any problem, he resorts to fast unto death ... that is the trick he always uses at such positions whenever he got cornered. Gandhi was the great advocate for the untouchables. He used to live in a hut made in a colony named by him "Harijan colony". In Hindi they called it a Bhangi (sweepers) colony. Even these untouchables did not believe in him and did not trust him. Their renowned leader Dr. Ambedkar said "we do not want the British to quit India till our rights are safeguarded. If they do so, our fate will be more terrible than the fate of any of the oppressed peoples of Europe". Gandhi is the greatest enemy of the untouchables. To whom we ought to give our support? To Gandhi the caste Hindu who would fast unto death rather than grant these 60 million outcasts the right of uniting into an independent organization which might challenge him".[9]

Jinnah said on February 18, 1943, "Gandhi wants to turn the whole of India into his Hindu-Ashram". Jinnah further remarked about Gandhi "when it suits him, he represents nobody, he can talk in individual capacity; he is not even a four-*Anna* member of the Congress, he undertakes fast to decide the political issues, he reduces himself to zero and consults his inner voice; yet when it suits him, he is the supreme dictator of the Congress. He thinks he represents the whole of India. Mr. Gandhi is an enigma".

Alexander, the first Lord of Admiralty, who had come along with the Cripps Mission, after having a long time

discussion with Gandhi, declared, "Gandhi had two objects – to humiliate the British Government and to promote a policy of scuttle, and secondly to secure power without a constitution coming into being and so to abandon the just claims of the Muslim League".[10]

At another time Wavell remarked about Gandhi, "He is a double tongued, single minded politician, and there is little true saintliness in him. The more I see of that old man, the more I regard him as an unscrupulous old hypocrite".[11]

Sir Manerice Hallet, Governor of the United Provinces, while writing to the Viceroy Wavell cautioned him about Gandhi and said "Gandhi is a cart load of monkeys. Gandhi was an instrument of power, Jinnah was power".[12]

Jawaharlal Nehru

He was the son of an old Congressite Hindu leader Motilal Nehru. He came from a Kashmiri Brahman family. He was born in Agra, U.P. on November 14, 1889. He was a caste Hindu Brahman vehemently opposed to Mussalmans. He considered himself an authoritarian and would not tolerate anybody to be better than himself. On his return from England in September, 1912 following his father's footsteps he entered into politics and joined the All India Congress. In the beginning the All India Congress party had some very enthusiastic and sincere members as Sir Feroze Shah Mehta, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Dada Bhai Naoroji.

He came under the influence of Gandhi and followed his policies. From the very beginning his father Motilal Nehru gave him the notion that he was somebody very superior to all others. On his return from England his father wrote to him, "I have sown the seed of your future greatness".[13]

Congress strictly followed the policy of Gandhi, who worked for the revival of Hindu rule. Likewise he too

demanded the British Government to leave India and let Hindus to decide its fate. His greatest weakness, a fatal flaw in a man, was that he believed himself to be "fit to rule ... the world".[14] He was full of arrogance. While addressing a Congress gathering in Ambala in 1937, he refused to acknowledge the Mussalmans as a nation. He announced that "there are two forces in the country, the Congress and the government".[15] At this Jinnah rebutted and said "I refuse to line up with the Congress, there is a third party in this country and that is the Mussalmans".[16] To this Nehru again contemptuously asked "Who are the Muslims?" Apparently only those who follow Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League...what does the Muslim League stand for?[17]

About Nehru, Mountbatten said, "He has a great charm, you will find it very difficult because he is very clever, he is full of idealistic ideas, which may or may not work. He has no political experience whatsoever. He tried to destroy the Indian army".[17a] For Nehru's such foolish boasting Jinnah calmly said in an interview, "He seems to carry the responsibility of the whole world on his shoulders and must poke his nose into everything except minding his own business".[18]

His overbearing attitude convinced Jinnah that to expect justice or fairplay from the Hindu Congress was a great folly which would lead Mussalmans into perpetual slavery.

Nehru was so much self-conceited that he would never think of any other person or party to be considered worth giving a second thought. He would not tolerate any person elected on Muslim League's ticket to be included in any Congress Ministry.

For Nehru even the idea of Pakistan was disastrous. He considered it economically not viable. He haughtily announced that soon after they ... the Muslims, will come to their senses and would seek refuge in his regime. All his wishful thinking and arrogant boasts came to nothing.

Pakistan withstood all the blows of time and got firm on its foundation without the British help whereas these very leaders of the Congress Hindus who wanted the British to quit India immediately and seal the fate of India, and thought that they were capable enough to rule not only India but the whole world, had to seek the active help and support of the British after they became independent.

Nehru was intoxicated with his vanity to an extent that in a very haughty tone he said, "Give Jinnah what he wants. Give him his state. It won't last long and it would crumble to ashes itself. It won't survive even five years. The Muslim League would be knocking at the door of Congress begging for reunion". He called the Lahore resolution, a "fantastic move" in his speech at Allahabad on 3rd April 1940. He boasted that "a day will dawn when the champion of militant Islam would soon ally himself with the champion of militant Hinduism in coalition government". He declared "every fibre of my body rebels against British government". Yet he was the first person to seek the help and protection of the British officials. He called Jinnah "an uncultured, untaught politician".[19] Such was the narrow-minded thinking of a person who claimed that he could rule the whole world. People of high calibre and broad vision do not hate or look down upon others. His vanity cost him what he always dreamt for "to be the ruler of the subcontinent India". Stanley Wolpert said, "It would not be the last of Nehru's political errors of judgement in his dealings with Jinnah, but it was one of the most fatal mistakes he ever made in a moment of hussy".[20]

Vellabhai Patel

He was an extremist. He was an avowed enemy of Muslims, and was full of venom for them. Patel's views were different from those of Nehru. He was averse to Gandhi's movement of non-violence. He held radical and revolutionary views. He was named "the Iron Dictator".

He was, as described by John Gunther, "the worthless party fixer and organizer". Beverlay Nicholas termed him as Gandhi's greatest general".[21] He was compared with Nazi generals, for causing turmoil and bloodshed in India by his fiery speeches. He had no tolerance for his opponents. His system did not believe in democracy, "any body who did not agree with him had to be eliminated...either one agrees with him and is incorporated in his machine or one disagrees with him and sent to the wall. He had ruthlessly but tactfully eliminated opponents out of his path".[22] He was a photo copy of Hitler in character.

Abul Kalam Azad, Asif Ali, Rafi Ahmed Kidvai, M. C. Chagla, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib, were not Hindus but they preferred to be aligned with Hindus rather than with Muslims. In fact the Congress had taken them in its fold only to hoodwink the Muslims of India in particular and the world abroad in general. They were kept as show pieces. Jinnah called them, specially Abul Kalam Azad, "show boy of Congress". He refused to shake hand with him saying "I have nothing to do with hypocrites".[23]

Congress kept them as dummy members to be used to its advantage. They were ashamed of being called Muslims or be associated with Islam. M. C. Chagla felt proud in refusing to be identified as a Muslim. He took pride in narrating a story when he went to the United States as India's Ambassador he was asked by a journalist in his first press conference, whether he was a Muslim. At this he said, "How is it any business of yours what my religion is?"[24] Perhaps he would have been glad if had been told that he was a Bombayite Gandhi. As Abdul Ghaffar Khan preferred to be called "Frontier Gandhi". He felt proud in being affiliated with Gandhi rather than with any Muslim leader.

Asif Ali, a Barrister-at-law in Delhi kept himself attached to the Congress because of his wife Aroona Asif Ali, she was a Hindu lady, having much liking for Gandhi and

Nehru.

Abul Kalam Azad was with the Congress because they had offered him the highest coveted position by electing him its President. For all practical purposes he acted only as a figure head. In his zeal to please Hindus, he went to the extent of saying, "It was not necessary to be a Muslim in order to get into the heaven (Gardens of Bliss) after death. One may belong to any caste or creed. If his deeds are right, he would straightaway be taken to Heaven after his death".[25]

Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Frontier Gandhi and his brother Dr. Khan Sahab preferred to go to Hindu temples than to any Muslim Mosque. Abdul Ghaffar Khan often went to India, before partition and after partition, attended Hindu Ashrams and got a red mark, vermillion dot (Tilak) on his forehead as a mark of being a disciple to Hindu Idols. M. C. Chagla was displeased being called a Muslim, because he was afraid he might loose the rank and honour that he got by simply aligning himself with Hindu demigods.

NOTES

1 *Gandhi–Autobiography – The Story of My Experiments with Truth* by M. K. Gandhi, p. 11.
2 B. M. A. Mehtar "*Whys of the Great Indian Conflicts*", p. 13.
3 *Ibid.*, 1047.
4 *Life and Times of Lord Mountbatten* by John Terrain, p. 153.
5 *Willington to Prime Minister*, "MacDonald, papers Public Record Office, 30/69/1/578-ii.
6 *Gandhi vs. Jinnah* by Allen Hays Marrian–Gandhi, 1947.
7 *Jinnah's Recent Speeches*, vol. ii, p. 131.
8 *Beverlay Nichols-Verdict on India*, p. 37.
9 *Ibid.*, 39.
10 *Record of Meeting at 10 Dawning Streets, September 23, 1946*, pp. 570–72.
11 *September 26, 1946, Moon, Wavell*, pp. 352-53.
12 *Hallet to Wavell, June 29, 1944–Mansergh, Transfer of Power*, vol. iv, p. 883.

12a *Encyclopedia of Britannica*, 15th edition, vol. 8, p. 584.
13 *Nehru* by B. N. Pandey, p. 17.
14 *Gopal-Nehru*, vol. viii, p. 883.
15 *Nehru at Ambala, January, 1837, Gopal, Nehru*, vol. viii, pp. 7-8.
16 *Jinnah in Calcutta, January, 1937, The Congress and The Partition of India–Partition*, p. 194.
17 *Gopal, Nehru*, vol. viii, p. 119.
18 *Das, India*, pp. 181-82.
19 *Nehru's Diary, December 12, 1942.*
20 *Jinnah of Pakistan*, Stanley Wolpert, p. 148.
21 *Verdict on India* by Beverlay Nichols, p. 185.
22 *Ibid.*, pp. 187-88.
23 *In Simla Conference in 1946.*
24 *Roses in December* by M. C. Chagla, p. 83.
25 *Speaking to a gathering of the Congress in 1942*, as narrated in *Talu-e-Islam*, a magazine by Ghulam Muhammad Pervaiz, August 1942.
26 Translated from the Holy Quran and explained in *Talu-e-Islam*, September 1942 by Ghulam Muhammad Pervaiz.

CHAPTER V

SOLO FIGHT

On March 23, 1940, when All India Muslim League in its 27th Annual Session at Lahore, unanimously passed a resolution demanding that the Muslims of India should have their separate independent sovereign state, Jinnah said in unequivocal words that, "If the British government is really in earnest and sincere to secure the peace and happiness of the people of this subcontinent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homeland, by dividing India into autonomous national states".[1]

On this a great hue and cry was raised by the Hindu leaders. Gandhi said, "Vivisection of India would be done over my dead body". He said, "dividing India means cutting the cow into two"; the cow that Hindus worship and named it the "Mother cow".

Nehru called the demand of Pakistan a "fantastic proposal". C. R. Raj Gopal Acharya of Madras said, "I consider it a sign of a diseased mentality that Mr. Jinnah has brought himself to look upon the idea of one India as a misconception and the cause of most of our trouble".[2]

Soon after the Lahore Resolution was passed Linlithgow, the then Viceroy wrote to Jinnah in April, 1940, reassuring him that, "His Majesty's Government are in friendly and sympathetic relations with all Muslim Powers to some of whom indeed they are bound by alliance".[3]

That was the time when Britain was at war with Hitler, who had made many victorious advances. The British government needed the Mussalmans' support, in boosting up war efforts as the Muslim soldier are the best warriors and undaunted fighters. Jinnah was aware of the situation. However Gandhi and Nehru, refused to understand the situation in their fit of power intoxication. The Hindu leaders in fact intended to take advantage of the precarious British position in war.

They thought, that was the time to corner the British government and force them to hand over the power to the Hindu leaders. Being short sighted they did not realize that if World War II was lost India automatically would be under another foreign regime. It might be Hitler's–the Nazi regime, or Japan's Tojo government. Then who would secure freedom from the new lords? None at least for another century or two. The Hindu leaders could not and would not foresee the situation.

Jinnah was a cool headed and farsighted person. He visualized all this. He looked with alarm the Nazi's advances, ruthlessly overpowering one nation after another. He conferred with the Viceroy with regard to alarming situation, making it clear without any ambiguity that the Mussalmans were a nation and not a minority. And a nation had the right to have her own independent homeland. Jinnah also assured the Viceroy of full cooperation of the Mussalmans in the war efforts, stressing at the same time that could only be possible if the British government would take the Mussalmans as equal partners in the government both at the center and in all the provinces. For this Jinnah suggested that the Viceroy's executive council be expanded. Muslim members should be equal in number to the Hindu members. He further pointed out that the Muslim members should be the nominees of the Muslim League and not of any other party.

Gandhi as usual using his double tongue sent an open

letter urging the British to stop fighting, saying "I do not want Britain to be defeated, nor do I want her to be victorious", (what a self contradictory statement) I want you to fight Nazism without arms ... If they choose to occupy your homes, you vacate them...". What a strange and funny philosophy? Gandhi on one side said he did not want Britain to lose and in the same breath he said he did not want her to win either. Since his words carried no logic, they made little impact on any sane person's thinking.

The Viceroy tried to play double trick with Jinnah and attempted to win over three Muslim chief ministers, by including them in the Viceroy's Executive Council, over and above Jinnah's consultation.

Jinnah took this very seriously and promptly accused the Viceroy by saying, "you have double crossed me".[4] He then declared that "Viceroy and his coteries at Simla merely want our support on the assurance that...after the war we will be given a "Baksheesh". Hindu leaders want to treat the Muslims like Jews in Germany.[5] While commenting on the Muslim members in the Congress he called them "show-boys".[6]

Speaking to a gathering in Madras, in which several of South India's non-Congress, non-Brahman leaders like E. V. Rama Swami Naicker of Justice Party, the periyar (great sage) of the Dravidistan movement and other Tamilnad luminaries, including Jinnah's old friend Sir A. P. Patro, were present, Jinnah said, "we have clearly defined our plan and our demands. Our demand is "Pakistan". A separate sovereign state for the Muslims to live freely. He stressed upon them that "no people can ever succeed without working hard for it. He asked "what does the Congress want? Do you think Gandhi has started Satyagaraha only to get liberty of speech? No! this is only his usual weapon of coercion and blackmailing the British, who are in a tight corner to surrender and concede the Congress demand and what is Congress demand? Nothing

short of establishing a Hindu Raj." [7]

As for the three Muslim chief ministers directly taken in the Viceroy's Executive Council, viz, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, from Punjab, Fazle Haq from Bengal and Saadullah Khan from Assam, he ordered them to either quit the government or leave the Muslim League. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan and Saadullah Khan responded to Jinnah's call and tendered their resignations from the Viceroy's Defense Council. Fazle Haq remained adamant and refused to resign. He was expelled from the League. The other Muslim members chosen directly were Begum Shah Nawaz and Sir Sultan Ahmed Khan. These two members also refused to resign and were expelled from the Muslim League for five years.

This event made clear both to the Congress and the government that Muslims of India were firmly with the Muslim League and any attempt in future to create disruption in the ranks would likewise meet the same fate.

Finding his scheme falling to pieces the Viceroy asked Sir Roger Lumbey, the then Governor of Bengal to invite Jinnah at a dinner and try to bring him around. Sir Lumbey reported that he found Jinnah a very reasonable person. But his stand on his demand for Pakistan was absolutely unchanged.[8]

The British government in London was very much disappointed at the Viceroy's failure in bringing the two parties to any plausible solution. At this Sir Stafford Cripps was considered to replace Linlithgow. Before proceeding Sir Stafford Cripps submitted a formulae suggesting:

"If there are sufficient provinces who want to get together and form a Dominion, the dissident provinces should be free to stand out and either come in after a period of option or set up at the end of it as Dominion of their own."[9] Before sending Cripps to India with full power, Churchill in his speech to the House of Commons remarked that besides the Hindu majority, there was

another party which was considered as a minority but commanded most important position in Indian politics and that was the Muslim League.

On the arrival of Sir Stafford Cripps, Jinnah smelt the foul game that was to be played. He cautioned his people and said "I can say without contradiction that the Muslim League stands more firmly for the freedom and independence of this country than any other party". He stressed that "we are asking for justice and fair play. We have no design upon our sister communities. We want to live in this land as a free independent nation. We are not a minority but a nation".[10]

It was rumoured that Cripps being a friend of the Congress, would not do justice to the Muslim cause. Anticipating such incidents, Jinnah warned, "If any scheme or solution is forced upon us, that is detrimental to the interests of Muslims, we shall not only not accept it but resist it to the utmost of our capacity. If we have to die in the attempt we shall die fighting".[11]

As usual in his meeting with Cripps, Gandhi attempted to net Jinnah in his diabolic scheme. He asked Cripps to put the whole burden on Jinnah by offering him the highest post. In that he thought to allure him and get him in his trap. Jinnah got the point. He knew well their cunning tricks.

Jinnah was not to be led into their snare. The British brains had a good insight of Jinnah's character and mind. They did not agree to such a diabolical proposal. These proposals of the Hindu leaders convinced the British government that the aim of the Congress was nothing less than establishment of the Hindu Raj. Surely minorities also have the right to the basic human demands. As such the Secretary of State, L. S. Amery, addressing the House of Commons denounced the claim of the Congress of representing the whole of India. He came to realize that besides Hindus there lived another major nation–the

Muslims–whom it was not possible to ignore or bypass. However, it was the Congress to disagree first and reject the Cripps plan. Cripps was not to give way easily. He continued negotiating with Congress leaders, Nehru, Azad, and Patel. Relying upon his friendly relation with Gandhi, Nehru and other Congress leaders, he continued his efforts to bring round the two parties to an agreement. But Jinnah would not agree to any formula short of Pakistan.

He said, "Muslims of India would not be satisfied unless they are granted the right of self determination, in order to be free to determine their own future programme".[12]

Congress' major aim was to get hold of defence department so that it would have a complete command and hold on the armed forces. This point was realized by both Cripps and Colonel Johnson, a representative of President Roosevelt during their meetings with the Hindu leaders.

Cripps had already made a list of the Hindu leaders to be the ministers in a new national government. All these members, besides Cripps, Colonel Johnson, Nehru and Azad were under the illusion that they would be able to carry on the affairs as they wanted and had planned. Cripps thought that he would bring round Churchill to agree to their plans forgetting that before launching the Cabinet Mission, Churchill had warned the members to be not unmindful of minorities particularly the Muslims.

Although Churchill in his assessment considered Muslims as a minority, still he thought he could not ignore the Muslims whom he considered the most important. While turning down the Cabinet Mission Plan, the Congress president Azad wrote to Cripps:

"We are not prepared to assume responsibility provided a truly national government is formed ... we should point out to you that the suggestions we have put forward are not ours only but may be considered to be the unanimous demands of the Indian people. On these matters there is

no difference of opinion among various groups and parties".[13]

From this very preposterous claim of Azad "to be representing all groups and parties" it became clear that the Congress thought itself to represent the Muslims as well.

When Jinnah read Azad's statement, he immediately told the press, "there is no foundation for that assertion. Muslim India has repudiated that claim. We maintain that Congress does not represent not only the Mussalmans of India but even a large body of the Hindus, the depressed classes, the non-Brahmans and other minorities".[14]

In reply to Azad's demand for forming a full national government, Cripps wrote, "You suggest a truly national government be formed, which must be a cabinet government with full powers. Without constitutional changes of a most complicated character and on a large scale this would not be possible as you realize".[15] How thoughtless the Congress leaders were! But Jinnah saw through their game. Through any mean, they wanted to get power and later on walk over all other minorities and keep them under the crushing heel of their slavery. That was all the plan which Jinnah had rightly judged and calculated.

United States of America being pro-Gandhi and pro-Nehru desired to hasten the grant of independence to India without taking into consideration the basic and legitimate rights of other minority nations. In this respect President Roosevelt wrote to Churchill, "American public opinion cannot understand why if the British government is willing to permit the component parts of India to secede from British Empire after the war, it is not willing to permit them to enjoy which is tantamount to self-government during the war".[16]

Americans forgot that India was not inhabited by one nation or one community. It was inhabited by many

nations, each nation with large population.

Churchill was wise enough. He had a deep study and knowledge of India, its races, religions, castes and creeds. The British had ruled India for a long time. They knew Indian boundaries, religious beliefs of its people, their caste, creeds, customs and rituals. They would not ignore these important factors.

Jinnah had time and again warned the British government that "any attempt to solve the future problem of India by the process of evading the real issue is to cause disaster".[17]

The British government also misread Jinnah and underestimated his potentials. The British government thought that by giving a few important positions to Jinnah and one or two to the untouchables, their leader Dr. Ambedkar, they would be able to evolve a solution. The British government was even prepared to ignore the parties and get on with their one-sided plan. But this was not as easy as they thought.

In the Punjab Sikhs were being instigated not to agree to be governed by the Muslims. They were a warrior race, holding an important position in Indian Army and could not be ignored by the British government. Britain's position in the war was precarious. She could not do away with either Mussalmans or Sikhs. Both, races were very important and formed the backbone of the British Indian Army, and therefore they had to be taken care of.

A leader from Madras, Chakravarti Rajagopal Acharia, came to the rescue of both the British government and the Hindu Congress. He gathered a few of Congress legislators from Madras and held a conference. In a clever way he brought the Congress round and convinced it that besides Britain India was, in no less a danger to be lost to a new master, who might prove more ruthless and might not be prepared to grant India freedom to form its own national government. It was, therefore, deemed absolutely necessary

to cooperate with the British government in her war effort. He also urged the Congress to acknowledge the Muslim League and its demand for independence.

This spirit of cooperation and scheme of reconciliation was strongly detested by the Congress lords. In disgust Rajagopal Acharia resigned his membership of the working committee on 30th April, 1942.

On May 1, 1942, the Congress in its session refused to accept the Muslim League's right of self determination. In that they also closed all doors of reconciliation with the Muslims. They refused to come to any agreement with the Muslim League.

In another meeting of the Congress, Gandhi stressed upon his disciples that they should fight for their freedom. Here again, the preacher of non-violence exposed his true self. His slogan for non-violence had always been to befool the world. Practically they had always adopted violent methods to achieve their aims.

This attitude of the leaders of the Congress was considered to mean rebellion against the British government at such a crucial time when the whole of the British Empire was in great peril. Japan had struck the Indian territory with her full might. Fall of Singapore and possibility of a direct attack on Calcutta had particularly shaken the British government. But with all that the British government did not submit. It rather became more adamant in its attitude towards the Congress leaders. The Viceroy, Linlithgow did not waste any time. He immediately ordered the arrest of Gandhi and his coteries.

Jinnah who strongly believed in abiding by the law asked the Muslims of India to refrain from any participation in the movement "Quit India" initiated by the Congress. He also warned the hooligans not to coerce or interfere in the peaceful way of living a normal life of the Muslims. If under any circumstances Muslims were forced and coerced they would be justified in putting up resistance and taking

all measures that may be deemed necessary for the protection of their life, property and honour.

"Quit India" movement by the Congress aimed at nothing but forcing the British government to hand over power to Hindu leaders for the establishment of the Hindu Raj, which would lead India nowhere but towards destruction and chaos. Jinnah strongly deplored the Congress leaders' vain dream of the Hindu Raj, specially at time when a foreign foe, a ruthless enemy to humanity was knocking at the door of India. He again urged both the parties, the British government and the Congress to realize the wisdom of coming to honourable terms with the Muslim League, accept it as the representative party of the Muslims of India, and agree to the division, allow the Muslims of India to establish their own independent sovereign state. Of course all this should be after the cessation of the World War II.

The Congress leaders as usual under the great misconception of their numerical majority arrogantly spurned Jinnah's well intended appeal. The Congress people continued with their unlawful activities. They started pulling off the railways, burning the railway wagons, looting and destroying the public property, in their bid to bring down the British government and force it to hand over the power to the Hindus leaving all other nations and communities at their mercy. The British government in West Minster Abbey took a very strong notice of the Congress leaders' unlawful activities.

At this time America tried to interfere in the British governments administration, urging the British government to accede to the Congress' desire. The unworthy step was taken by the United States counsel-general (George R. Marshal) in New Delhi. He had directly written to the State department Secretary informing his government that the Muslim League was being helped and financed by some of the Indian princes both Hindus and Muslims. By doing

so they were encouraging the Muslim League to press for their demand of Pakistan.

Churchill took a serious notice of the American government's interference in his government's affairs. He wired the Viceroy, Linlithgow, to stand fast and not to falter with the Congress leaders and its followers' unlawful activities. In reply the Viceroy expressed his view saying, "The Congress really represents hardly anybody except lawyers, money leaders and Hindu priesthood".[18]

As usual Gandhi thought of resorting to fasting unto death. He informed the Viceroy accordingly from the place of his detention.The Viceroy was least perturbed about it. After receiving Gandhi's letter, the Viceroy wired Amery, saying, "I have never wavered that Gandhi, if he desired to do so, should be allowed on his own responsibility to starve to death".[19]

The Viceroy however was very much perturbed when members of his council unanimously advised him to release Gandhi for the interim period of his fasting. The British government in London did not agree to that proposal and instead Amery wired back to the Viceroy saying, "How greatly disturbed the war cabinet felt at the thought of releasing Gandhi on a mere threat of fast".[20]

In his war cabinet meeting Churchill showed great indignation, when he was told that if they did not agree to release Gandhi, the members would resign. He boldly said, "If they did resign, we could carry on just as well without them ... that was not the time to crawl before a miserable little old man who had always been our enemy".[21]

When Gandhi came to know of the decision of the Government of India to release him for the period of his fasting, he refused to be released. He said, "I shall be quite content to take my fast as a detainee or prisoner". The impending fast has not been conceived to be taken as a free man".[22]

The Hindu leaders were very much perturbed realizing

the determination of the British government not to yield to the threats that these leaders always thought would coerce the government. There was a suggestion from Hindu leader Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to call for a joint meeting of both the Congress and the Muslim League leaders to discuss the situation arising out of Gandhi's fast and of the government's refusal to yield. Jinnah declined to participate saying that "the situation is really a matter for the Hindu leaders to consider".[23]

The physical condition of Gandhi became critical. The doctors feared that he might collapse at any time. However, the Viceroy remained undisturbed. Instead he cautioned all the Provincial Governors to keep alert and ready to face the situation which may arise if Gandhi died as a result of his fast. The Viceroy warned the Governors that "considering Gandhi's position as our prisoner and a declared rebel, there can be no question of half-masting flags or sending official messages of condolences to his widow".[24]

Gandhi withstood all the ordeal and lived to break his fast on 3rd of March. There was a great relief among the Hindu leaders. When Churchill learned of Gandhi surviving the ordeal, he felt very much upset and surprised. He thought some foul game had been played by doctors, who, he thought, would have been providing nourishment secretly to Gandhi.

To review the situation that took a turn in the country on and after Gandhi's fast, the All India Muslim League held its 30th Session on 24th April, 1943 in New Delhi. In this session Jinnah recapitulated the past events. He explained the causes that led to the breakdown of round table conference meetings. Gandhi did not like and was not prepared to allow the concession or rather privilege to the scheduled castes to have separate electorates and thus have a choice to elect their own representatives to plead and fight for their basic rights. Gandhi wanted these seventy million scheduled caste people to remain as

untouchables and be at the mercy of caste Hindus.

At this communal prejudicial thoughts that further strengthened a rift and hatred among the minorities even Prime Minister MacDonald, who was presiding over the conference meeting categorically said to Gandhi, "Be honest and face the facts. The communal problem is a problem of fact. Does the problem exist in India or does it not exist? I do not answer. I have you honestly to answer for your self and to your self. Then if the communal problem does exist, how can it be discussed with the view to settlement, either in India or here? At the foundation of any progress towards the setting up of an Indian constitution lies the problem of community representation, community rights, community protection and so on ..."[25]

Rebutting the Congress' claim for democracy, Jinnah said, "the Congress is not a democratic party. Instead it is photocopy of fascism, Nazism and communism. One of Gandhi's deputy Seth Govindas, chairman of the reception committee of the All India National Congress, at Tripuri fully explained, "our Congress organization can be compared with the Fascist Party of Italy, the Nazi Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Russians ... Mahatma Gandhi occupies the same position among Congressmen as that held by Mussolini among Fascists, Hitler among Nazis and Stalin among communists. The Congress at present constituted, is the creation of Mahatma Gandhi".[26]

Jinnah inquired if that was democracy...nationalism? He further said, "when Congress talks of democracy it means only the Hindu Raj, to dominate over the Muslims, a totally different nation, different in culture, different in everything. You yourself are working for Hindu nationalism and Hindu Raj.

Democracy is that we learned 1,300 years ago. It is we who have learned the lesson of equality and brotherhood of man. Among you, one caste will not take a cup of water from another. Is this democracy? Is this honesty? We are

for democracy. But not the democracy of your conception, which will turn the whole of India into Gandhi Ashram. "One society and nation will, by its permanent majority, destroy another nation or society in permanent minority ... all that is dear to the minority ... I say give up, give up this pose ... Have your Hindustan if you can ... but I am not going, as long as there is life left in a single Mussalman, to have this Hindu Raj. The Irish nationalist leader Redman met Carson, the Ulster leader, and told him, "look here, can't we come to some settlement, why do you want to separate from Ireland? Mind you there is not one millionth part of the difference between the people of Ulster and Ireland. What was Carson's reply? I do not want to be ruled by you". My reply to Mr. Gandhi is, "I do not want to be ruled by you".[27]

Such was the situation created by the Hindu leaders. The Hindu leaders opposed the Pakistan scheme and considered it a sin. By calling it a sin the Hindu leaders wanted their men to believe that if they committed this sin they would be damned in this world and the hereafter. The Hindu leaders did not care to understand Jinnah. Even the British government underestimated Jinnah's position and power with the Muslim masses.

Expressing his opinion about Jinnah Linlithgow wrote to Amery saying, "I do not however think that he wants a row with government ... and his threats do not cause me any sleepless nights ... Jinnah would be quite as bad a master as Gandhi but Jinnah is not in as strong a position as Gandhi and Congress ... since he represents a minority, and a minority that can only effectively hold its own with our assistance".[28]

These misleading thoughts always stood in the way of the Congress and the British government in assessing the true situation of Indian politics. Both were not prepared to understand or realize the position of Jinnah, his power and hold on the Muslim community. They stubbornly

refused to acknowledge and accept the Muslim League to be the only representative body of Muslims of India.

In the meantime Churchill realized that the Viceroy, Linlithgow had failed in bringing around the two parties to any agreed solution. He thought of bringing in a new person. He selected Field Marshal Wavell who was then the Commander-in-Chief of Indian Forces at Delhi. His selection of Wavell as Viceroy was based on the opinion that as Wavell was a strong military commander, he might do well in the civil administration. Churchill further wanted to keep a strong hold on India militarily.

Wavell was a very good soldier and had a deep insight of India's strategic position. So he might do well in controlling the two rival parties – the Congress and the Muslim League. Before sending him to India as the head of the Indian government, Churchill warned him not to indulge in any political reforms adding "that only over his dead body would any approach to Gandhi take place".[29] Wavell realized that Churchill hated India.

Jinnah visualized that in spite of sincere cooperation of the Muslim League in supporting war efforts, the British government still distrusted the Muslims and also regarded the Muslims as a minority and considered that it were they who were protecting the Muslims against the Congress. At one time they declared the Congress an outlaw and an avowed enemy of the British government and at the same time they said "how can we ignore Congress". Jinnah said that it was a confession of failure on their part. They openly declared that "we can't do anything because this rebel organization has paralyzed us".[30]

On one side Churchill admitted and announced that Congress was a rebel organization. It was guilty of treason. They were the enemies of the government and the crown. They were only a party. But the overwhelming majority of the people of India were not with the Congress. And yet he was not prepared to acknowledge the Muslims as a

nation and considered them as a minority.

Jinnah asked, "from this attitude can anyone believe, that there is a real and honest desire to impart power?". Time out of number we have made it clear. But we are ignored, our party is ignored, because it suits them. We are on the contrary accused of not helping the war efforts ... It is a very serious situation indeed ... the cup of bitterness and disappointment at the shabby treatment meted out to Muslim India is a danger to them".[31]

Wavell started assessing the situation in India and that of its prominent leaders. In September, 1943, he wrote in his diary saying about Jinnah "It is hardly too much to say that Jinnah is the Muslim League. He is a vain, shallow and ambitious man".[32] About Gandhi he said, Gandhi and Jinnah both are dictators ... Gandhi because he has built himself as a saint".[33]

In those days there occurred an acute shortage of food supply in Bengal. Bengal was dangerously in a grip of famine. It was definitely caused by the Hindu Banias with the active assistance of Mahasabhaites, by withholding the food supply from the market with a view to defaming the League ministry. Returning from Simla to Bombay Jinnah issued a statement on the Bengal famine saying, "the present ministry working under the present constitution with its limitations cannot be saddled with the responsibility, and further they only came into power after the terrible crisis had overwhelmed Bengal ... I earnestly appeal to his excellency the Viceroy Lord Wavell to leave no stone unturned and give immediate help and relief to the people of Bengal with all the sources that the government of India can command. Similarly, I appeal to Churchill ... this muddle, whoever is responsible for it, is the greatest blot on the British administration in this country, and it must be wiped off without delay".[34]

Soon after this he reprimanded, Sir Henry Richardson, the leader of the European Party, while speaking on the

food situation in Delhi's legislative assembly for saying it was no use in indulging in recrimination against government for the Bengal disaster. He said, "do you call this recrimination when the government in charge of the country are called upon to explain their conduct? ... who is the real thief has to be found out. Surely the government of the country is responsible for the safety of the lives of the people ... supposing in England a few hundred people had died or were dying every week of starvation, let alone a few thousands, would Churchill's government be able to stand ... for 24 hours? And here we are calmly and coolly told not to indulge in recrimination ... It is our misfortune that we are living under a system of government which is irremovable and irresponsible and, I would add, thoroughly incompetent to handle any big issue."

In February 1944, the Viceroy Wavell in his maiden speech in the opening session of the assembly stressed upon the geographical unity of India. That was an indirect attack on Muslims demand for Pakistan, and denial of Muslims' claim to be a nation.[35]

Jinnah took a very serious view of Wavell's provocative speech. Speaking to the Muslim University, Aligarh, Students' Union on March 1944, he remarked "Lord Wavell like his predecessor has started fishing in the Congress water. Lord Linlithgow hopelessly failed, but the soldier Viceroy thinks that he would succeed where his predecessor had failed in landing a big fish or a number of small ones sufficient for his purpose".[36]

Sir Henry Twynam, Governor of the Central Provinces warned the Viceroy not to antagonize Jinnah. He wrote, "I know that many hard things are said about Jinnah. But I often wonder where we should have been had not Jinnah foreseen how fatal it would be to Muslims interests to support Congress".[37] Governor Sir Francis Mudie wrote, "what Jinnah was playing for was nothing less than to get Pakistan, without giving a quid pro quo to the Hindus ...

government should make an unequivocal announcement of their unconditional acceptance of Pakistan".[38]

Wavell, still assuming himself the C-in-C thought that his words would be taken as an order by a soldier from his officer, forgetting that the situation did not involve soldiers under army law. The people he had to deal with were political leaders. In fact Wavell was unable to understand Jinnah and or even come to his level of intelligence. He underestimated Jinnah's force of will and strength of putting his case with irrefutable reasons. Wavell in his vague opinion about Jinnah even doubted whether Jinnah was a Muslim and whether he had solid backing of the Muslims of India.

However he had to admit Jinnah's strength of leadership and unflinching following of the Muslims of India. He admitted that, "He (Jinnah) can sway opinion and no one seems to have the "character" to oppose him".[39]

On the report of the doctors attending Gandhi in his detention at Agha Khan's palace the Viceroy ordered his release. Gandhi was shifted to his personal friend's house Lady Thackersey where he soon recovered his lost health miraculously so soon that Amery had to remark about his recovery by quoting Byruns," my mother-in-law has been dangerously ill; she is now dangerously well".[40] So was Churchill furious about the news of Gandhi's unexpected recovery.

After his recovery from illness and weakness Gandhi thought of writing to Jinnah with a view to making an alliance with him and seeking his cooperation in winning freedom. As usual with his language and verbal wobbling, which he never thought of giving them practical form, Gandhi said, "Don't regard me as the enemy of Islam or the Muslims of this country. I am the friend and servant of not only yourself but the whole world".[41] From the very beginning Gandhi's intentions had been to allure Jinnah from his goal by charming him with his flowery words

based on hypocrisy.

After his meeting with Jinnah he met his stalwart Mr. C. Rajagopal Acharia apprising him that Jinnah not only rejected his formula but he hated him as well. He further explained that over and above everything Jinnah wanted them to come to an honourable agreement and accept Muslim's demand of Pakistan as their right to have it, and have it accepted before going to his government and asking her to concede to the division of India into two sovereign states as independent Hindustan and independent Pakistan. Unless this agreement is reached no other solution would be acceptable to the Muslim League. Gandhi said, "the Muslims want Pakistan, the League represents the Muslims and it wants separation".[42]

The difficulty with Gandhi was that he was not prepared to accept Jinnah's two nation theory. His insistence on dividing into two nations with two independent states of their own, was a very grave sin.

Jinnah found Gandhi's talk of compromise or an honourable settlement was merely a lip talk. He wrote to Gandhi, "you do not accept that the Muslims of India are a nation ... you do not accept the Muslims have an inherent right of self determination ... you do not accept that Pakistan is composed of two zones-North West and North East, comprising of six provinces ... as a result of our correspondence and discussions, I found that the question of the division of India as Pakistan and Hindustan is only on your lips, and it does not come from your heart".[43]

Later on Gandhi confessed, "Jinnah is sincere".[44] Strange enough Gandhi and his Hindu colleagues confessing the sincerity of Jinnah still would not come to an honourable agreement. And thus, their stubbornness and arrogance caused delay in attaining independence.

After the failure of Jinnah-Gandhi correspondence Wavell wrote in his journal dated September 29, 1944, "I must say I expected something better ... the two great mountains

have met and not even a ridiculous mouse has emerged. Jinnah had an easy task. He merely had to keep telling Gandhi he was talking nonsense, which was true".[45]

Wavell who scorned Jinnah in the beginning and was not prepared to accept his leadership had said, "It is hardly too much to say that Jinnah is the Muslim League" and he had finally to accept and confess,"Jinnah, whatever his fault, is a highly intelligent man, is sincere about the two nation theory".[46]

In his meeting with the Viceroy, Jinnah told him in an unambiguous words that India had never been a united nation and never could be. Indian unity was a British creation.

Wavell, however, was least inclined to grant Jinnah his Pakistan. He was strongly in favour of keeping India as one entity. He wrote, "I do not believe that Pakistan will work. It creates new minority problems quite as bad as those we have now, and the Pakistan state or states would be economically unsound".[47]

After consultation with his government in London Wavell thought of calling a joint meeting of representatives of both the parties. The meeting was held at the Viceroy's house in Simla in June 1945. After a long discussion that lasted for about a week, the Viceroy asked the leaders of the two parties, the Congress and the Muslim League to give him the names of their representatives to be taken in his new council.

Jinnah insisted that no Muslim member should be included who was not recommended by the Muslim League. The Viceroy declined to bind himself to that proposal. Jinnah thereon refused to send any names. The Viceroy informed his government in London of the situation. He suggested that he would form the new council of members thus selected by him independently. The names he suggested were Liaquat Ali Khan, Khalique-uz-Zaman, Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din and Essak Seth as representatives

of Muslim League, the fifth one from among the Punjab land lords, Sir Muhammad Nawaz Khan. Other five Hindu leaders representing the Congress that he named were Nehru, Patel, Ranjandra Parsad, Dr. M. A. Ansary and Sir B. N. Rao. Master Tara Singh, the Sikh representative and Dr. Ambedkar and Munisawani Pillai from the untouchables. Dr. John Matthai of Madras University representing the Christians. This proposal of Wavell was not approved by the British government. It again advised the Viceroy to consult Jinnah and get his approval of the names suggested by him.

Jinnah refused to discuss or consider any names. He insisted that as per Muslim League's manifesto, only names chosen and sent by the Muslim League should be accepted. He further sought the guarantee that any decision taken by the council to which the Muslims were averse could only be passed by a two third majority in the council. Thus there was deadlock and the Simla conference broke down. The British cabinet took this opportunity to clear themselves of the blame that the British government was standing in the way of granting independence to the Indian people. In this way the British cabinet tried to throw all the blame on Jinnah.

The British cabinet seriously thought either to accept Jinnah's demand for Pakistan and part with power by dividing India into two sovereign states or make the Indian people reject Jinnah's two nation theory and throw him out by passing a majority vote against him. To put this scheme in practice, they suggested that general elections should be held to decide which party had the majority.

This was another snare to entrap Jinnah. It was an attempt to prove that the Muslim majority was not with Jinnah and was not in favour of partition. On the other hand, the Secretary of State thought, that in case Jinnah swept the elections in Muslim provinces, he was justified in claiming that all the Muslim members of the council

should necessarily be the nominee of the Muslim League.

The Punjab governor Glancey was not in favour of holding elections. He was advised like-wise by Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, the then Chief Minister of the Punjab Province. The Bengal Governor Casey was also reluctant to agree to the scheme. In fact he thought Jinnah would not live long and in case he passed away there would be nobody to replace him.

Jinnah was fully aware of sinister designs of the Hindu Congress as well as of the British elites. He knew well that Gandhi was all out to defeat him with the active support of the British government. But he was firm in his conviction for Pakistan.

He declared that Muslims would agree to nothing short of Pakistan. They would under no circumstances agree to any arrangement that would cause freedom for Hindus and establishment of Hindu Raj compelling Muslims to remain slaves forever.

Wavell had rightly assessed the power that Jinnah commanded with the Muslim masses. The Muslims of India feared the Hindu domination after the establishment of Hindu Raj. Establishment of Hindu Raj meant the death blow to the Muslim's very existence. Thus Pakistan was for them a question of life and death.

During his election tour starting from Bombay, Allahabad, and other parts of India, Jinnah told the public in unambiguous words that Muslims believed in one God and all those who believed in one God were one nation. And for this Muslim nation, Pakistan was their amulet, the source of their glory, life and future.

Gandhi and Nehru insisted that the British government should quit immediately and leave the power in the hands of the Hindu majority. They thought that once the Hindu majority was in authority there would be no power to dislodge them. The Congress knew well how to deal with the Muslims. Jinnah would not last long on account of his

frail health. After him, it was thought that every one has his price. It would be very easy to purchase Muslims and win them over to their side. However, if Muslims still resisted they will be routed out by force as most of the Indian Army consisted of Hindus and Sikhs.

For the Hindu leaders all their aspirations failed when during the elections, Muslims won 30 out of 30 seats in the central assembly. This was a thumping victory for the Muslim League that finally confirmed the Muslims demand for Pakistan and that of the Muslim League to be the sole independent representative party of the Muslims of India. In Punjab, Muslim League won 75 out of 85 seats, which was another blow to the Congress's claim that it represented all parties. In Sindh Muslim League candidates won 28 out of 34 seats. In Assam 31 out of 34 Muslim seats went to Muslim League candidates. In Bengal Muslim League got a sweeping victory getting 113 out of 119 seats. In Frontier Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the so-called Frontier Gandhi, played double game. Within the Frontier province he led the Khudai Khidmatgars, a purely Muslim movement and hence Muslim voted in the name of Islam. He had great hold on his Pathan community. League lost 17 to 38. On the whole the Muslim League won more than 88% of the Muslims vote. Still the Congress was adamant and refused to join hands with the Muslim League in forming a coalition government consisting of the Congress and the Muslim League representatives. In fact Hindu leaders would not tolerate the Muslims to share power with them.

Their attitude confirmed the opinions of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Dr. Allama Iqbal, Chaudhry Rehmat Ali, and Jinnah that there would be no peace in combined India with Hindu ruling party. The only solution to live peacefully for the two major nations was to have a separate independent sovereign state.

Finally the Muslims of India concluded that it was futile to talk of unity or cooperation with Hindus. They decided

to make a solemn pledge to work honestly and sincerely for the achievement of Pakistan and that they would be prepared to make any sacrifice as might be deemed necessary. The solemn pledge was:-

"In the name of Allah, the beneficent and merciful declaring their conviction that the safety and the security and the salvation and destiny of the Muslim nation inhabiting the subcontinent of India lies only in the achievement of Pakistan... and believing as I do in the rightness and justice of my cause, I pledge myself to undergo any danger, trial or sacrifice, which may be demanded of me".[48]

On the conclusion of this pledge Jinnah reminded his men, "we have made a solemn pledge declaration in this august and historic convention that while we hope for the best, we are prepared for the worst".[49]

H. S. Soharwardy immediately responded to Jinnah's call and said "I have long pondered whether the Muslims are prepared to fight. Let me honestly declare that every Muslim of Bengal is ready and prepared to lay down his life. I call upon you to test us".[50] On this Nawab of Mamdote emphatically said "we are asked how we will defend Pakistan. I would say that if stalwart soldiers of the Punjab could defend Britain against Nazi aggression, they can also defend their own hearth and homes".[51]

After the election of 1946 it was established that the Muslim League commanded an authoritative position and without any shadow of doubt it was the sole authoritative representative body of the Muslims of India.

Under these circumstances the Viceroy's efforts were to bring in an honourable settlement between the two major nations. He, therefore, wanted that an interim government should be formed on equal footings, both the parties coming to a common and mutual understanding. The Congress leaders, specially Gandhi and Nehru insisted that power should be handed over to the Congress without bringing

in the Muslim representatives. The Viceroy was not prepared to acquiesce to such an irrelevant and impracticable proposal.

Before a new chief was to be appointed, Wavell had according to the parliament rules and working procedures, called in both the parties, the Congress and the Muslim League to bring their nominees. Six of the Congress, including one scheduled caste representative, five of the Muslim League, the other three would be one Sikh, one Christian and one Parsi.

The Muslim League nominated Liaquat Ali Khan, I. I. Chundrigar, Abdur Rab Nishtar, Ghazanfar Ali Khan and one of a scheduled caste Jogindra Nath Mandal. The inclusion of a scheduled caste person was a direct negation of the Congress' preposterous claim of representing all the nations. Gandhi and Nehru were not happy over this selection and nomination by Jinnah.

Jinnah was right in saying that Gandhi was never honest in his talk. He said what he did not practice, but not acted. He always clothed his attack on the opponents with the language of love. He was very sweet and loving in his verbal dealings whereas he acted most heinously against his political opponents. Such men, Shakespeare rightly defined in his drama, Macbeth, as "one may smile and smile, yet be a villain at heart". At another place he said, "who knows there may be a serpent under the bud of roses".(Macbeth, by W. Shakespeare.)

Gandhi did not want Muslim League to share power with the Congress. Gandhi never for a moment realized the wisdom of compromising and coming to terms with the Muslim League.

At the time of forming an interim government, there was a great struggle for the portfolios in the government. Nehru was not willing to give up External Affairs office. Patel wanted Home Affairs and the Defense portfolio was reserved for Baldev Singh. Each one threatened to resign

if the office desired by him was not assigned to him. The Congress agreed to offer the portfolio of Finance to the League nominee to make it a difficult proposal.

The Muslim League nominee Liaquat Ali Khan got Finance, I. I. Chundrigar the Commerce, Abdur Rab Nishtar, Communication, Post and Air, Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Health and Jogendra Nath Mandal, Legislature.

The Congress leaders did not realize that all their offices and plans would not be able to work if finance did not flow to them to their desire.

In the meantime at the instigation of some fanatic Hindu leaders deadly communal riots brokeout in East Bengal and Behar in central provinces. The riots were well planned with a view to destroying the Muslim properties. Lieutenant General Sir Francis Tuker, General Officer Commanding-in-Chief Eastern Command reported that terrible and deliberately false stories were blown all over the world by hysterical Hindu forces. These stories did infinite harm in India by killings in Bihar and the United Provinces. The Hindus planned for revenge. In the first week of November a planned massacre of Muslims in Bihar began. Of all the terrible doings in 1946 this fearful carnage was the most shocking. Its most disturbing side was that great mobs of Hindus turned suddenly, upon the few Muslims, who had lived and whose forefathers had lived in amity and trust all their lives among these very Hindu neighbours... the number of Muslims dead, men, women and children in this short savage killing was about seven to eight thousand".[52]

Gandhi was requested by all Muslim Congress men to go to Bihar and make efforts to stop the massacre of Muslims. In his usual hypocritical way Gandhi sent a message instead of personally going to that area. He remained in Calcutta Noakhali feigning to be in his deep meditation seeking guidance from his inner-soul. He remained in Noakhali to divert the attention of the world

press from Behar and thus to incriminate Muslims only. A Muslim leader in Bihar passed his comments on Gandhi's lethargic and indifferent attitude towards Muslims killing, "why...Mr. Gandhi indefinitely prolonged his stay in Noakhali and adopted a comical walking tour of at the most two or three miles a day is a question...not easy to answer".[53]

When Gandhi was persuaded to visit Bihar in March 1947, he was alarmed. The Congress ministry in Bihar was evasive and indifferent. General Tuker in his journal recorded, "what most struck our officers at this time was how calmly these Hindu ministers took the awful tales, mostly true of atrocities. They could not it seemed, be shocked".[54] As customary at such incidents Hindus always put the blame on Muslims and thought themselves absolved of the responsibility. But the massacre in Behar shattered the propaganda of non-violence exposed the diabolic reality of Hindu character.

In his book, "Mahatma Gandhi, the last phase", Pyarelal exposed clearly the Hindu leaders' aims and the caste Hindus venomous mentality. The title of his caption was "the veil lifted". In that he said that, "the Bihar disturbances in 1946 finally shattered the dream of an undivided India".[55]

In 1946 Nehru thought to make a tour of N.W.F. Province with an intention of winning complete support of the people in that province against the division of India. Nehru and Dr. Khan Sahib were sure to get a hearty reception and full support. Surely they were given a good reception. They were greeted with black flags and slogan, "Nehru go back". The Congress had generously placed a huge amount of funds at the disposal of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his brother Dr. Khan Sahib for propaganda to purchase the loyalty of Muslim Pathans.

On the failure of getting any favourable response, Abul Kalam Azad openly accused Abdul Ghaffar Khan of miserliness. That shattered the last hope of Nehru for

getting Pathans' support for the Hindu Congress. The Muslims of Frontier had shaken off their lethargy and finally came to realize that if Hindu designs succeeded, there would be Hindu Raj and they would fall into the slavery of Hindus.

Gandhi and Nehru then started putting pressure on the Viceroy to convene the Constituent Assembly. The British government and the Viceroy decided to summon the Constituent Assembly on December 9, 1946. Jinnah accused the British government and the Viceroy of playing in the hands of the Congress. Thereby, the Viceroy threatened the Muslim League members that in case they did not participate in the Constituent Assembly meeting their membership would be cancelled.

Liaquat Ali Khan, the leader of the Muslim League representatives in the interim government retorted and said that "they would rather go out of government than to come into the constituent assembly without a clear agreement on the fundamentals of the statement of May 16, 1946". The Viceroy was merely echoing the demand of the Congress for pressing the League to attend the constituent assembly or to quit the government".[56]

V. P. Mennon elaborated the situation later on saying, "Everything ultimately rested on agreement between the parties concerned. The Congress could not make a constitution for the whole of the India without the Muslim League...the alternative to agreement was civil war".[57]

Jinnah in his address to the Muslim population in London as well as the British people clarified that "the Muslims of India want one fourth of India and give three fourth to the Hindu Congress. But Hindus wanted the whole of India and deprive the Muslims of their legitimate right ... the problem is. Is Britain going to stand by with its bayonets and hand over authority to the Hindu majority? If that happened, you will have lost every cent of honour, integrity and fair play".[58]

When Liaquat Ali Khan presented his budget in the Assembly all the Hindu leaders felt very much upset. Because that did not give them a free hand in spending. The most annoyed person was Patel, who thought he would bring all his opponents to bow before him. He was dictatorial by temperament and would stand no opposition.

Realizing the blunder that Congress committed by offering the portfolio of Finance to the Muslim League, not withstanding its devastating effects on their power, Abul Kalam Azad remarked, "when Liaquat became the Finance Minister, he obtained possession of the key to the government. Every proposal of every department was subject to scrutiny to his department. In addition he had power of veto ... Sardar Patel was very anxious about giving up the Home membership. Now he realized that he had played into the hands of the League by offering it finance".[59]

Finding himself constitutionally helpless and paralyzed Nehru used his usual trick. He threatened to resign, that is the tactic that Congress always used whenever it found her plan failing. At this moment of breakdown Patel behaved a bit calmly. When Nehru approached Gandhi, bringing some frivolous accusations against his own iron man, Patel, Patel wrote, "the charges ... are pure concoction. Only, I was opposed to Jawaharlal's hurling idle threats of resigning from the interim government ... repetition of empty threats has lost us the Viceroy's respect and now he regards our threats of resignation as nothing but bluff".[60]

Closely studying the Congress leaders' unthoughtful action and unconstitutional methods often adapted by them, A. V. Alexander, the first Lord of the Admiralty, one of the wisest men of the British cabinet came to the conclusion that, "Gandhi had two objectives; to humiliate the British government and to promote a policy of scuttle and secondly to secure power without a constitution coming into being and so to abandon the just claim of the Muslim League".[61]

Practically all the members of the cabinet mission began to suspect Gandhi. They realized that Gandhi was never sincere in his dealings or sayings. Wavell finally judged Gandhi, "An exceedingly shrewd, obstinate, domineering, double tongued, single minded politician, and there is little true saintliness in him".[62]

He further wrote, "It was quite wrong for the mission to have had such constant contacts with the Congress camp, and especially with Gandhi. They put exaggerated faith and belief in him and showed him absurd deference. Sudhir Gosh, Gandhi's emissary, is, I believe a snake in the grass and I would certainly have not trusted him. Gandhi was the real wrecker. His one idea for 40 years has been to overthrow British rule and influence and establish a Hindu Raj ... His practice of mixing prayers with politics, or rather of making prayers a medium of political propaganda is all a part of make up".[63]

Nehru was so arrogant and inimical towards the Muslim League that when cabinet mission expressed its belief that progress in business could only be made with the cooperation of the Muslim League, he vehemently disagreed and thought that the Congress government could easily do away with the Muslim League.

Jinnah finally came to a decisive conclusion that it was futile to hope of any reconciliation with the caste Hindu Congressites. He called for his council members to meet and think over the situation. In that he said, "I can tell you this without fear of contradiction that of the three parties, throughout the negotiations the Muslim League behaved as an honourable organization. We worked with clean hands. The Muslim League is the only party that has emerged from the negotiations with honour and clear hands."[64]

During his address, Maulana Hasrat Mohani rose and announced amongst the deafening cheers, "If the Quaid-e-Azam will only give his words, the Muslims of

India will rise in revolt at a moment's notice. At that simultaneously all the participants roared with one voice that Ghazanfar Ali worded, "If Mr. Jinnah gave the call, Muslims from all walks of life would come forward to carry on the struggle for the attainment of Pakistan".[65]

Jinnah never acted on impulse. He was a strict constitutional man. He always stressed upon every one to act strictly according to the constitutional requirements.

In that meeting the working committee passed the following resolution:

"Whereas Muslims of India have exhausted, without success all efforts to find a peaceful solution of the Indian problem by compromise and constitutional means, and whereas Congress is bent upon setting up caste-Hindu Raj in India with the connivance of British, and whereas recent events have shown that the power politics and not justice and fair play are the deciding factors in Indian affairs, and whereas it has become abundantly clear that the Muslims of India would not rest contended with anything less than the immediate establishment of an independent and fully sovereign state of Pakistan...the time has come for the Muslim nation to resort to direct action to achieve Pakistan, to assert their just rights, to vindicate their honour and to get rid of the British slavery and the contemplated future Caste-Hindu domination".[66]

Two days before this Jinnah had issued a statement to the press stressing upon the Muslims the way they should act, behave and observe the direct action day in a very peaceful manner. Not to resort to any hooliganism, not to commit any unlawful act. He said, "I enjoin upon the Muslims to carry out the instructions and abide by them strictly and conduct themselves peacefully and in a disciplined manner and not to play into the hands of the enemies".[67]

It had always been the principle of Jinnah to fight for the rights of the Muslims through constitutional methods.

But as usual the Hindu leaders incited their people to fight against the Muslims. The result of such irresponsible instigation came in the form of "Calcutta Killing". About these brutal activities Wavell wrote to Pathic Lawrence informing him of the estimated casualties, "the present estimate of casualties was 3,000 dead and 17,000 injured...the latest estimate of the casualties was that "apparently more Muslims than Hindus were killed".[68]

When a foreign news agency representative approached Jinnah to know about the Calcutta Killings, Jinnah said, "If Congress regimes are going to suppress and persecute the Mussalmans, it will be very difficult to control disturbances ... In my opinion, there is no alternative except the outright establishment of Pakistan ... we guarantee to look after non-Muslims and all other minorities in Pakistan ... and protect and safeguard their interests in every way".[69]

It is a pity that the Congress leaders, specially Gandhi and Nehru hardly cared to understand Jinnah's sanity and wisdom.

Evaluating the Cabinet Mission's attitude towards the Muslim League, Sir Arthur Moor remarked in his letter which appeared in the daily *Statesman*, dated August 28, 1946, "You, Sir, showed true path when you pointed out that we, as represented by the cabinet mission had grievously let down the Muslim League ... the Muslim League alone had accepted the long term and short term plans, and for the sake of peace had agreed to try out a federal form of government and forego the idea of an independent sovereign Pakistan ... from the Hindu press rose a roar of triumph that the League was beaten, and day after day a steady stream of insult and cartoon poured forth ... we let down those who trusted us ... and that owing to the inherent corruption of the party system of parliamentary government ... the British press had to represent the cabinet mission as a success and conceal the wrong done to the Muslims.

"We have produced a situation in which civil war is an obvious possibility ... I see no point in blaming anybody except ourselves ... I think that Britain should admit errors and give the opportunity of attempting the role of peace maker for which it is temperamentally better fitted than an organization which has practiced direct action for a quarter of century".[70]

After all these incidents and the Congress Hindus brutal activities, Wavell had to change his opinion about the Congress's unreasonableness. He wrote to Pathic Lawrence, "the strong reaction by Gandhi shows how well justified Jinnah was to doubt their previous assurances on the subject. It is to my mind convincing evidence that Congress always meant to use their position in the interim government to breakup the Muslim League and in the constituent assembly to destroy the grouping scheme which was the one effective safeguard for the Muslims".[71]

Pathic Lawrence wired back saying, "we must ask you not to take any steps which are likely to result in a breach with the Congress".[72]

That confirmed Jinnah's fears that the British government was not sincere to the Muslim League. They were in league with the Congress and bent upon wrecking the Muslim League for the establishment of Hindu Raj.

In his message of Eid Day August 29, 1946, Jinnah appealed to the Muslims of India, "to rally around the Muslim League...Let us stand as one united nation under our flag and on one platform and be determined and prepared to face the worst as a completely united and great people with our motto; Unity, Faith and Discipline. God is with us, we are bound to succeed".[73]

Wavell however, was earnest to bring round the two parties, to an honourable agreement. But Nehru and Gandhi strongly opposed and told the Viceroy in open words that they did not want Jinnah and the Muslim League to join with them in the interim government. They wanted to carry

on independently to exploit and over run the Muslims of India. This attitude convinced Wavell that Gandhi and Nehru wanted nothing but a complete domination over the Muslims of India. Wavell admitted then, "the more I see of that old man, the more I regard him as an unscrupulously old hypocrite, he would shrink from no blood letting and violence to achieve his end, though he would naturally prefer to do so by chicanery and a false show of mildness and friendship".[74]

Wavell's sincere and honest efforts to bring the two parties to an amicable settlement and avert in case of break down, a civil war which he very much dreaded went in vain. This attitude of the Viceroy made the Congress leaders to believe that he was inclined to favour the Muslims. With this devious thought the Hindu elites started working on a plan forcing the British authorities to replace Wavell with a Viceroy of their choice – Mountbatten. His name was suggested by Nehru. They had already managed through their wire pulling resources, Wavell's dismissal.

Meanwhile the Prime Minister informed the House of Commons that all efforts of the British government had failed to bring in the two parties to an honourable settlement. Churchill said, "I warned the house as long ago as 1931...that if we were to wash our hands of all responsibility a furious civil war would speedily break out between the Muslims and Hindus. But this like all other warnings fell upon deaf ears.

Indeed it is certain that more people have lost their lives or have been wounded in India by violence since the interim government under Mr. Nehru was installed in office four months ago by the Viceroy than in the previous ninety years. This is only a foretaste of what may come. It may be the first few heavy drops before the thunderstorm breaks upon us. The frightful slaughter over wide regions and in obscure uncounted villages have in the main, fallen upon Muslim minorities.

I must record my own belief .... that any attempt to establish the reign of a Hindu numerical majority in India will never be achieved without a civil war ... this war will, before it is decided. lead through unacceptable agonies to an awful abridgement of the Indian population. The Muslims numbering 90 million ... comprise the majority of all fighting elements in India ... the word minority has no relevance or sense when applied to masses of human beings numbered in many scores of millions".[75]

The British government had already been brought round to accept the proposal of removing Wavell and replacing him by Mountbatten. The orders of dismissal of Wavell had already been issued and conveyed to him.

With Mountbatten

On appointment of Lord Mountbatten as the new Viceroy of India, the indefectible war between Jinnah and all the powers of British government combined with most trickery tactics of the Hindu Congress started afresh.

Mountbatten, who had held the supreme command of all the three combined British and Indian forces started as the chief executive in Indian government. Before accepting this new office he got a mandate that he would be in charge of the affairs. His authority would not be challenged. His decisions would not be questioned and above all he would not be under any circumstances bound to any other's suggestion, advice or recommendations. He came with full "go ahead" command in his hand. Consciously aware of his direct blood relations with the Crown, added with sole dictatorial power, he saddled himself in the seat of the Viceroy of India. In this office he had all the armed forces at his command. He could fire his volleys from all directions, from land, sea and air at his free will and choice at any target he liked.

Equipped with full command, he started his business. Before coming to India, he was fully briefed about the

Indian political situation. He was already on good friendly terms with Nehru whom he had met in Singapore during the World War II.

On the other side the Congress leaders were determined to shatter all possibilities of Pakistan's coming into being. As General Tuker narrated the view of the Congress leaders and wrote, "In effect they said, "well, if the Muslims want Pakistan, let them demand. They will have it and with a vengeance we shall sheer every possible inch of their territory so as to make it look silly and to ensure that it is not a viable country and when they have got what's left ensure that it cannot be worked economically".[76]

Churchill was a very shrewd and a seasoned politician. He was aware of Indian politics as well as of Indian politicians, specially that of Hindu evil mentality. On his meeting with Mountbatten, before his departure to India, he cautioned Mountbatten saying, "I am not going to tell you how to do it, but I will tell you one thing ... whatever arrangements you may make, you must see that you don't harm a hair on the head of a single Muslim ... they are the people who have been our friends and they are the people the Hindus are now going to oppress, so you must see that they can't do it".[77]

Mountbatten started his business first having an informal meeting with the leaders of both the Congress and the Muslim League parties.

About Gandhi, Mountbatten said, he would appear to have no practical solution...he does have this tremendous thing with his fasts, if he wants something to be done, he will do a fast.[78]

About Nehru he said, he has got great charm...you will find it very difficult because he is very clever, he is full of idealistic ideas which may or may not work. He has no political experience whatsoever. He tried to destroy the Indian Army".[79]

By that time the Hindu leaders had realized that there

was no way out except to accept the demand of the Muslim League and agree to concede Pakistan.

At this time Jinnah advised his men in March 1947, "we have got to stand on our own legs. There was a time when the idea of Pakistan was laughed at but let me tell you this there is no other solution which will do credit and bring honour to our people. Inshallah (God Willing) we shall have Pakistan".[80]

Gandhi in his meeting with Mountbatten tried to play the same game of tricks and entrapping Jinnah into his diabolic web. He suggested Mountbatten that Jinnah be made the Prime Minister of India. He said, "If Mr. Jinnah accepted this offer, the Congress would guarantee to cooperate freely and sincerely".

This sinister proposal for a while shook Mountbatten, as Mountbatten himself admitted, "when Gandhi initially proposed this ingenious formula it staggered me. When asked what would Jinnah say to such a proposal? Gandhi replied, "If you tell him I am the author he will reply "wily Gandhi". I (Mountbatten) then remarked "and I presume Mr. Jinnah will be right".[81]

That was how Gandhi's invidious mind always laboured. He thought in that way he would catch Jinnah in his snare and later on jump upon him like a wasp on its hunt. Jinnah was not unmindful of such wily tricks of Gandhi and his Congress colleagues. Nehru was very much upset at such proposal. After having a taste of unbridled power he would not like to part with power. He strongly opposed that scheme and informed Mountbatten that he was least prepared to accept such undesirable proposal.

Nehru was venomously averse to Jinnah. He hated Jinnah from the core of his heart. In his first meeting with Mountbatten he spoke ill of Jinnah. Nehru's prejudicial opinion about Jinnah made a great negative impression upon Mountbatten. He met Jinnah with preconceived hostility. When he was assigned this job he had already

been briefed about Jinnah by Pathic Lawrence. Mountbatten thus met Jinnah with a determination to bring Jinnah down to his knees, to knock him down in his very first meeting.

He met Jinnah for the first time on April 5, 1947. He found him most rigid, haughty and disdainful".[82] With all the ill opinion that Mountbatten had formed against Jinnah, he was very much impressed by Jinnah's sense of humor and enjoyed it much. Before they would start their talk they had to be photographed with Lady Mountbatten. Jinnah stood between Mountbatten and Lady Mountbatten. Jinnah humorously remarked "a rose between two thorns".[83]

In his talk with Jinnah, Mountbatten could not find any loophole to pass through and get over him. Jinnah was absolutely inflexible in his conviction. He was clear, succinct and to the point. He never minced his words.

Mountbatten, who was determined to torpedo Jinnah instead found himself totally disarmed and knocked out. When Jinnah left the Viceroy's house, Mountbatten exclaimed, "My God he was cold".

In his very first meeting with Mountbatten, Jinnah concluded that "he was in the pocket of Nehru".[84] Jinnah warned Mountbatten about Gandhi that, "he wielded vast power but had no responsibility; he could make agreement impossible but would agree to nothing. Wavell also had told Mountbatten that Gandhi's talk had all the time been inconclusive and evasive.

Although Mountbatten had many more sittings with Jinnah but in his very first meeting Jinnah had made it clear to him that the only solution to a peaceful settlement was the division of India. A unified India was a dream which would lead to disaster and total destruction of India which might take centuries to repair.

At last sanity dawned upon Hindu leaders. They realized that united India was inconceivable. Nehru who was furious at the very idea of partition had to submit and

admitted that partition was inevitable. Jinnah completely outclassed them all. His legal adroitness proved more powerful, reasonable and sane than that of Pathic Lawrence, Cripps, Alexander combined with all the intelligentsia of the Indian Congress. They could not outwit him.

Mountbatten finally admitted that, "Jinnah held the whole key to the situation to the continent, in his hand ... I saw that dear old man Gandhi had nothing at all in his hand". With that mighty key Jinnah opened a gate way to Pakistan for the Muslims of India and saved them from the slavery to Hindus[85].

NOTES

1 *Pirzada, Foundation,* vol. ii, pp. 335–37.
2 *Partha Sarath, the Hindus,* p. 533.
3 *Linlithgow to Jinnah,* April 19, 1940, Pirzada, Quaid-e-Azam, p. 201.
4 Kanji Dawarkadad, *Ten Years To Freedom,* p. 55.
5 *Ahmed, Recent Speeches,* vol. i, p. 204.
6 *Ibid.,* 205.
7 *Pirzada, Foundation,* p. 371.
8 *Lumley to Linlithgow,* January 15, 1942.
9 *Quoted by former Navel Officer (Churchill) to Roosevelt,* March 4, 1942, pp. 406-407.
10 March 23, 1942, *Ahmed, Recent Speeches,* vol. i, p. 400.
11 *Ibid.,* pp. 401-2.
12 *Speaking to the Crowd at Allahabad Railway Station on 3rd April, 1942.*
13 Mansergh, *Transfer of Power,* vol. i, pp. 129-30.
14 Ahmed, *Recent Speeches,* vol. i, pp. 415–19.
15 Mansergh, *Transfer of Power,* vol. i, p. 733.
16 *Roosevelt to Hopkins for Churchill,* April 1942, Moon-Churchill, p. 130.
17 Mansergh, *Transfer of Power,* vol. i, pp. 748–50.
18 *Linlithgow to Churchill,* September 1, 1942, pp. 874-75.
19 *Linlithgow to Amery,* February 2, 1943, Mansergh, *Transfer of Power,* vol. iii, p. 570.
20 *Amery to Linlithgow,* February 8, 1943, Ibi, p. 617
21 *Ibid.,* pp. 631-32.
22 *Gandhi to Sir Richard Tottenham,* February 8, 1943, C.W.M.G.(iii-15) vol. lxxvii, p. 61.
23 *Times of India,* February 16, 1943, *Linlithgow to Amery.*

24 *Times of India*, February 16, 1943, *Linlithgow, to Governors*, February 18, 1943, Mansergh, *Transfer of Power*, vol. iii, pp. 667-68.
25 *Pirzada, Foundation*, vol. ii, p. 412.
26 *Ibid.*, p. 414.
27 *Ibid.*, p. 415.
28 *Linlithgow to Amery*, June 10, 1943, Mansergh, *Transfer of Power*, vol. iii, p. 1053.
29 *Penderel Moon*, ed. Wavell, the Viceroy's Journal, p. 11.
30 *Pirzada, Foundation*, p. 421
31 *Ibid.*, pp. 421-22.
32 September 15, 1943, Mansergh, *Transfer of Power*, vol. iv, p. 280.
33 *Ibid.*, p. 261.
34 October 31, 1943, *Ahmed, Recent Speeches*, vol. ii, p. 3.
35 *Ibid.*, November 8, 1943, pp. 6–10.
36 March 4, 1944, *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.
37 *Twynam to Wavell*, April 9, 1944, Mansergh, *Transfer of Power*, vol. IV, p. 873.
38 *Mudie to Jenkins*, April 14, 1944.
39 *Moon, Wavell*, p. 63.
40 *Amery to Wavell*, May 11, 1944.
41 *Gandhi to Jinnah, Ahmed, Recent Speeches*, vol. ii, p. 128
42 *Collected Work of M. Gandhi* (ii. 15) vol. lxxviii, pp. 88-89.
43 September 12, 1944, *Ibid.*, p. 96.
44 *Ibid.*, p. 142.
45 Mansergh, *Transfer of Power*, vol. iv, pp. 56-57
46 *Wavell to Amery*, October 3, 1944, *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 75.
47 *Wavell to Casey*, Governor of Bengal, January 1, 1945.
48 April 7-8, 1946, *Pirzada, Foundations*, vol. ii, pp. 522-23.
49 *Ibid.*, p. 523.
50 *Ibid.*, pp. 514-15.
51 April 7-8, 1946, *Pirzada, Foundations*, vol. ii, pp. 515-16.
52 Sir Francis Tuker, *While Memory Serves*, p. 176, 181-82.
53 *Pyarelal, M. Gandhi, The Last Phase* (vol. 2), Ahmedabad, p. 1650.
54 *Tuker*, p. 185.
55 *Pyerelal*, p. 1641.
56 *Speeches and Documents on the Indian Constitution* by Sir Maurice Gwyer and Appadorai, vol. ii, pp. 655–57.
57 V. P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India*, p. 323.
58 *Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, vol. ii. by Jamil ud Din Ahmed, pp. 496–508.
59 *Azad*, pp. 167-68.
60 *Pyarelal* - 1498.
61 *Record of Meeting* at 10 Downing Street, September 23, 1946, pp. 570–72.

62 *Moon, Wavell*, p. 314.
63 *Ibid.*, p. 314.
64 *Pirzada Foundation*, vol. ii, pp. 546–48.
65 *Ibid.*, pp. 551-52.
66 *Ibid.*, pp. 557-58.
67 *Ian Stephen*, Pakistan, pp. 106.
68 *Wavel to Pathic Lawrence*, August 21, 1946, Mansergh, *Transfer of Power*, vol. viii, p. 274.
69 *Ahmed, Recent Speeches*, vol. ii, p. 433.
70 *Pakistan Movement, Historic Documents* by G. Allana, p. 379.
71 August 28, 1946, Mansergh, *Transfer of Power*, vol. viii, p. 323.
72 *Ibid.*, p. 332.
73 *Ibid.*, p. 334, August 29, 1946.
74 *Wavell-Moon*, p. 353.
75 *Parliamentary Debate*, House of Commons, fifth series, vol. 431, pp. 1360–67.
76 Sir Francis Tuker, *While Memory Serves*, p. 257.
77 *Mountbatten and the Partition of India* by Larry Collins, p. 19.
78 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
79 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
80 M. H. Shahid, *Quaid-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah's Speeches*, pp. 50-51.
81 *Record of Mountbatten-Gandhi Interview*, April 1, 1947, Mansergh, *Transfer of Power*, vol. x, p. 69.
82 *Interview Mountbatten-Jinnah.*
83 *Mountbatten's personal recollections in an interview at his home summer of 1978.*
84 *Memoirs of Field Marshal Montgomery*, p. 457.
85 *Viceroy's Interview No. 35, 5th April, Transfer of Power*, vol. x, p. 138.

CHAPTER VI

VICTORY

Jinnah, being all sincere in both his words and actions, did not give up hope of bringing in together the two parties, Hindus and Muslims. In pursuance of his efforts to bring in honourable settlement and unity between the two parties, he made his last effort by extending his hand of good will and cooperation towards the Congress. While addressing a press conference in New Delhi in 1934 he asked, "can we even at this eleventh hour bury the hatchet and forget the past in the presence of imminent danger"? This generous open hearted and sincere offer was scorned off by the Hindu leaders. They most arrogantly and scornfully turned down his offer.

Jinnah with all his head and heart started reorganizing the Muslim League. He always advised the Muslims to act lawfully. He never asked anyone to adopt unconstitutional methods under any circumstances to achieve his goal.

Jinnah was a man of principles. One of his principles had been to work and act lawfully never to break law, and never to act unconstitutionally. And by strictly following this principle he pressed his rightful demand. He earnestly stuck to his demand. And with all his legal applications and his strong conviction in truth, he stood fast to his principles.

All his adversaries, who were fully equipped with all their official positions, high offices at their command and

power in their hand to wield all authority to defeat his purpose, bring him to his knees and cause him humiliation, found themselves totally beaten back, and defeated. All their guns were silenced with one forceful word "No" by Jinnah, having all the legal and constitutional implications behind that one word "No".

The battle of freedom that the Hindu Congress had been fighting since 1906 or even earlier, and to achieve which they often found themselves locked behind the bars, lathi charged, tear gassed, could not convince the ruling authorities, the British government to grant them independence.

This battle was won by Jinnah single handedly within a short period of ten years, without once going to jail. Nehru often tauntingly asked Jinnah, "what are Jinnah's contributions towards fighting for freedom. He had never been to jail". To him Jinnah replied that "jails are meant for criminals. I do not commit any crime. Why should I go to jail? Going to jail is not a matter of pride". The Congress leaders could not achieve independence by going to jails, by adopting fast unto death, by launching mass civil disobedience, for over half a century period.

He gained a victory which has no parallel in the history of the world. By gaining this victory over his bitterest adversary, he rescued not only the Muslims of the subcontinent of India, but mankind from the foulest and most tyrannical power the caste Hindus, who knew no ethics or morality and had no principles of life.

Within ten years period Jinnah achieved that remarkable victory – the victory that was considered impossible, a victory that the British were most reluctant to grant. Finally when both the British government and the Congress agreed to concede Jinnah his Pakistan, the question came up of the division of the country into two different and separate sovereign independent states.

The Mountbatten Plan

A plan was drawn up by Mountbatten independently. Although he consulted and talked to all the leaders concerned, yet he took the decision without taking anybody into confidence except Nehru.

It was decided that provinces in North West and North East comprising majority Muslims would form Pakistan and the rest of the East of India would go to Indian union. In that the division of the Punjab and East Bengal was decided on the advice of Nehru. The plan was sent through Ismay personally to London.

After making a little modification the British Cabinet returned the plan to Mountbatten for implementation.

Mountbatten, who claimed to be working impartially, betrayed his foul partiality. Instead of putting the plan before the leaders of both the parties simultaneously, he handed over the papers to Nehru a night before, who was furious to find it against his wishes.

In collaboration with V. P. Mennon, Nehru forced Mountbatten to bring in some changes according to his wishes.

Jinnah was a frank, straightforward and honest person. He had the least doubt about Mountbatten's integrity. It was only when Mountbatten at the instigation of Nehru suggested to Jinnah that instead of one combined North West Punjab and North East Bengal, these two zones would also be divided. That Jinnah realised the foul game of the Viceroy and was very much upset at getting a truncated Pakistan, which Mountbatten ironically called moth-eaten Pakistan.

However, Jinnah was not to be daunted by Mountbatten's threats, that if Jinnah refused to accept that moth-eaten Pakistan, he (Mountbatten) would straightaway hand over the reign of power to Nehru. It was not Mountbatten's threat, that perturbed Jinnah. It was the very dreadful thought of aftermath that Jinnah visualized would

lead to civil war which meant total destruction of India.

Jinnah did not like bloodshed to happen. On many occasions, he had reiterated that he would not like a single Mussalman's blood to be shed unnecessarily. It was with this idea that Jinnah said, he would prefer moth-eaten Pakistan than not having any.

Mountbatten's plan to be the common Governor General

While handing over the reigns of two dominions – Pakistan and India, it was the foremost desire of the British government that while both the states function independently, they should remain within commonwealth. To strengthen this plan it was Mountbatten's personal ambition that he should be the common Governor General of both the states.

Mountbatten posed the threat that in case his proposal was not accepted, Congress leaders would wriggle out of their commitment and as he had great influence over them it was desirable that Jinnah should agree to it.

Jinnah was cool to this proposal. He never acted on impulses. He always gave a deep thought to even the minutest detail. He refused to say anything immediately and said he would put the matter before the Council of the League. Campbell Johnson, Mountbatten's personal Attache expressed Jinnah's reaction:

> "He foresaw the most disastrous consequences that subcontinent India would have faced. The whole of India would have plunged into civil war. It would have brought India to a complete wreck and non-existence position. It was this horrible consequence that Jinnah foresaw and decided it was for the entire good and survival of India that Jinnah preferred a truncated and moth-eaten Pakistan, rather than absolute destruction. Jinnah had apparently been very calm ... Mountbatten felt that Jinnah's reaction was both abnormal and disturbing. It was certainly shrewd ... providing only

the evidence that Jinnah had very steady nerves".[1]

This attitude of Jinnah spoke of his greatness as a statesman. In that his wisdom, courage and strength of character was tested. It was only Jinnah with his strong will power that he withstood all the pressures and threats at such a crucial time when it was a question of life and death for the Muslims of India. And it was only a leader of Jinnah's calibre that maintained the integrity of the Muslim nation in India and won the battle of freedom for the Muslims.

Jinnah could not see how a common constitutional head of two separate independent states working on two different constitutions, could face the conflicting advice from two different and unlike cabinets and carry on his function properly. For him a common Governor General for two independent governments with conflicting interests was a constitutional absurdity. After great deliberation and constant consultations with his colleagues and the members of the Council, Jinnah decided himself to hold the office of the Governor General of Pakistan and Liaquat Ali Khan as his Prime Minister.

Mountbatten Frustrated

Jinnah's decision came as a blow to Mountbatten's pride. He felt his vanity wounded. He had already regarded himself as the Governor General of the two sovereign states, Pakistan and India. The Congress leaders had already agreed to have him as their first Governor General, rather they begged him to accept the office.

In order to be accepted as the common Governor General by Pakistan Mountbatten threatened Jinnah hinting that Pakistan would not stand for long and would suffer an unbearable loss in its share of assets. Jinnah kept all the time quite, calm and composed. He bore all Mountbatten's onslaughts with dignity and patience. He told Mountbatten that he kept the interest of his people on top of any personal

considerations. He foresaw the trick behind the proposal of having Mountbatten as one common Governor General.

Mountbatten was thick with Nehru. Under such circumstances, Jinnah could hardly expect any fair and just treatment at the hands of Mountbatten. He preferred the enmity and antagonism of Mountbatten than his hypocritical friendship which in the end might land him in complete control and mercy of the Hindus.

The Betrayal

Mountbatten felt so much hurt and wounded that he avenged his lost vanity by bringing harm to Pakistan in drawing up the partition plan and demarcating the boundary lines.

The Boundary Commission was formed with two representatives of Congress and two of the Muslim League with a British lawyer as a chairperson. Justice Mahajan, Justice Teja Singh represented India and Justice Din Muhammad and Justice Muhammad Munir represented Pakistan. Sir Cyril Radcliffe, a British lawyer was selected by Mountbatten as the chairman.

Jinnah intended to get three renowned law lords from the United kingdom, who should be impartial. Mountbatten did not agree to the proposal as he saw he might not influence them. He put up a lame plea that law lords would be old men, not accustomed to India's sweltering weather.

Boundary Commission

Mountbatten had already made up his mind to cause the greatest harm to Pakistan and to compel Pakistan Government to surrender and seek union with India.

In order to make his own independent plan without anybody coming in as advisor or guide, the chairman of the Boundary Commission made it clear that he would submit his report direct to the Governor General independently and no member would submit his report separately.[2]

That was the condition made by Mountbatten who was the chief wire puller at the helm of affairs. It prompted the two Muslim members to resign the membership of the Boundary Commission. But they were directed to continue under all circumstances. This exposed the nefarious plan of the chairman Sir Cyril Radcliffe who was working under the instructions and guidance of Mountbatten.

When finally the award was announced some of the majority and strategically important districts such as Ferozepur and Gurdaspur were handed over to Indian side instead of Pakistan contrary to the accepted principle of partition.

Justice Muhammad Munir tried to argue that Gurdaspur was a Muslim majority area. He was stopped by giving him an assurance that three Tehsils of Ferozepur district, namely Ferozepur, Zira and Fazilka were being awarded to Pakistan on the Muslim majority basis.

Statement of the population of the Punjab districts which should have been included in Pakistan under the principles of majority of people inhabiting in the provinces, but were awarded to India at the last moment under the instructions and intervention of the Viceroy Lord Mountbatten.

No.	District	Total Population	Muslims	Hindus & Sikhs
1.	Gurdaspur	1,153,511	589,899	512,316
		(including 50,000 Scheduled Caste)		
2.	Ajnalal (Tehsil of Amritsar District)	224,707	141,406	83,301
			(including Indian Christians)	
3.	Hoshiarpur Tehsil	323,945	145,985	134,960
4.	Dasuya Tehsil	258,298	132,105	113,193
5.	Nakodar Tehsil	228,224	135,918	85,308
6.	Jullundur Tehsil	457,740	226,623	168,117
7.	Ferozepur Tehsil	283,510	160,337	123,173
8.	Zira Tehsil	203,067	137,586	61,881
9.	A part of Kasur in Lahore District, a Muslim majority district and tehsil.			
10.	And the strip of Muslims majority area in Ludhiana District, on both sides of the Sutlej, which was never claimed by the Muslims as it fell into Hindu territory.[3]			

The award was to be announced on August 12, 1947, but was withheld by Mountbatten and after getting required changes made according to Nehru's wishes, it was announced on the August 17 three days after the announcement of award of independence to the two states - Pakistan and India.

This fact receives further authenticity from a book *Tehdis-i-Nimat* written by Sir Muhammad Zaffarullah Khan:

(1) He referred to a statement by Chaudhry Muhammad Ali the late Prime Minister of Pakistan, that in Ismay's room he saw hanging on the wall a map with a line which exactly corresponded with the line subsequently drawn on the award and that on being questioned about it he turned pale and said that somebody had been befooling with the map; and

(2) That after Sir Cyril was about to fly to see the terrain, a flight that was cancelled due to storm, Justice Din Muhammad had seen the flight plan which he had anyhow got from the pilot and that it was exactly identical with the boundary line drawn on the map attached to the award. These facts show conclusively that the boundary had been determined before the award was made.[4]

Foul Game Played by Mountbatten

The original award was withheld by Mountbatten and was got modified as stated by Sarap Singh, Chief Engineer, Punjab Irrigation, with Mountbatten's intervention.[5]

So in that way Mountbatten betrayed his impartiality and likewise avenged his insult that he felt on being not accepted as the common Governor General.

Mountbatten had throughout been using his usual tactics, threatening Jinnah of dire consequences if Jinnah did not agree to his proposal. Jinnah always kept cool. He never showed any sign of worry or impression that he was influenced by such threats, when finally he said to Jinnah

that if he did not accept the plan as suggested by him, he might lose Pakistan, Jinnah quite unmoved replied, "what must be must be".

The Boundary Commission headed by Sir Cyril Radcliffe was working under the instructions of Mountbatten. Hence Calcutta was awarded to India. Along with that the whole of the Muslim majority district of Murshidabad and great part of another Muslim majority district of Nadie were awarded to India. About 6,000 square miles of territory with a population of 3.5 million Muslims, that was already earmarked as a part of East Bengal was annexed to West Bengal at the last moment. In that way Mountbatten tried his best to wreck Pakistan.

In spite of all this injustice, open betrayal of the trust by the British government, illegally awarding the Muslim majority areas to India, Jinnah acted gracefully. Commenting on Radcliff's award Jinnah said, "the division of India is now finally and irreversibly affected. No doubt we feel that the carving out of this great independent Muslim state has suffered injustice. We have been squeezed inasmuch as it was possible, and the latest blow that we have received was the award of the boundary commission. It is an unjust, incomprehensible and even perverse award. It may be wrong, unjust and perverse award, but we have agreed to abide by it. It may be our misfortune but we must bear it up this one more blow with fortitude, courage and hope". [6]

The Independence Award

Making an announcement of granting independence to India and Pakistan, the Viceroy declared that:

On February 20, 1947, His Majesty's government announced their intention of transferring power ... by June 1948. We had hoped that it would be possible for the major parties to cooperate ... this hope has not been fulfilled ... the procedure outlined below embodies the best practical

method of ascertaining the wishes of the people ... to determine the authority or authorities to whom power should be transferred".[7]

These bodies would be free to frame their own rules. His Majesty's Government were now willing to anticipate the June of 1948 deadline and envisioned setting up an independent Indian government or governments by an even an earlier date. Accordingly, His Majesty's Government proposed introducing legislation during the current session for the transfer of power this year on a dominion status basis to one or two successor authorities according to the decision taken as a result of this announcement".[8]

After Mountbatten's announcement, and a brief speech by Nehru, Jinnah spoke:

> "It is the first time I believe that a non-official has been afforded an opportunity to address people through the medium of the powerful instrument on political matters. It augurs well, and I hope that in the future I shall have greater facilities to enable me to voice my views and opinions which will reach you directly, life-warm, rather than in the cold print of the newspapers. At the end Jinnah with a firm and louder voice said, Pakistan Zindabad".[9]

After the announcement of granting independence to two separate independent sovereign states, India and Pakistan, Mountbatten again approached Jinnah to accept him as the common Governor General for an interim period. While suggesting that, Mountbatten very cunningly pointed out to Jinnah by saying, "you realize you have chosen the wrong thing. The man you want to be the Prime Minister, he runs the country".[10] In this way Mountbatten threw another tempting snare to entrap Jinnah. Jinnah was well aware of their such hypocritical tricks. He was not to be caught in. He immediately replied, "No, in my Pakistan, there the Prime Minister will do what the Governor General tells him".[11] Mountbatten was very much frustrated at

Jinnah's cold candid reply. He had to confess his defeat. He said, "I will at once confess that I failed with Jinnah".[12]

However in spite of the utmost opposition by the Congress and the greatest inclination of the Viceroy Mountbatten, who had come with full determination not to divide India, the British government came to the conclusion that there was no other way out but to divide India into two sovereign independent states namely India and Pakistan. All the law brains of the British government and those of India had to submit before the hard logic of Jinnah.

Hence the British government decided to grant independence and transfer power to two major parties, the Muslim League and the Congress. Muslims would have their Pakistan and Congress would have their Bharat (India).

After this decision the question arose about the position and status of the princely states in India.

The Princely States and Their Fate

There were nearly about 562 states in India. These were all independent states under the overall administrative control of the Crown, with a Resident Agent of the British government who worked as the adviser and liaison officer between the two.

During the Round Table Conference in 1930–32, their representatives agreed to join the proposed federation of India. It was understood that such affiliation would be voluntary. The Cabinet Mission advised the princes to affiliate themselves with one or the other independent states of India.

On January 29, 1947, the rulers of the Indian states held a conference in Bombay. In that they passed a resolution saying that ,"the entry of the states into the union of India should be on no other basis than that of negotiation. The final decision should rest with each state and be taken

after considering the complete picture of the new constitution. The states would retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded by them to the union of India. The constituent assembly was not to deal with question affecting the internal administration or constitution of the states nor should the existing boundaries of the states be altered except by free consent of each other.

The British government's statement of February 20, 1947, clarified the position in regard to the Indian states, that paramountcy would not be transferred to any government of the British India. With the lapse of paramountcy, every Indian state would become sovereign".[13]

Mountbatten explained the implication of the partition on June 3, 1947, to the states negotiating committee. Next day in a press conference he said that, "the Indian states had been independent states in treaty relations with the British. With the lapse of paramountcy they would assume an independent status and were "absolutely free to choose to join one constituent assembly or the other, or make some other arrangements".[14]

In a joint meeting of the representatives of both the sides, India and Pakistan, which consisted of Nehru, Patel and Kriplani on behalf of the Congress, Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar on behalf of the Muslim League and Sardar Baldev Singh on behalf of the Sikhs, Sir Conrad Corfield, the political adviser to the Viceroy discussed the position of the states. Nehru strongly opposed the idea of states to be allowed to acquire an independent position. Jinnah reiterated his opinion and vehemently advocated that each state should have the right of self determination and should be free to either join anyone of the union or remain independent.

Gandhi as usual declared that "declaration of independence by any state would tantamount to war against India".[15]

Jinnah, a strictly constitutional man stated that constitutionally and legally, the states would be independent

sovereign states on the termination of paramountcy and would be free to adopt any course they liked.

With the exception of two major states, i.e. Kashmir and Hyderabad, all other states were strategically situated in such a condition that warranted in the interest of the states themselves to join in either of the unions. Kashmir had a Muslim majority and was ruled by a Hindu Raja, Hyderabad had Hindu majority and ruled by a Muslim ruler. Kashmir was contiguous to the Pakistan boundary. Hyderabad was all-round surrounded by the Indian territory. In this respect, Hyderabad's position was very much critical. Kashmir being integrated with Pakistan, geographically, historically and religiously should have joined Pakistan in all fairness. According Campbell Johnson Mountbatten had accepted Nehru's request in April 1947, that in case Kashmir's annexation became inevitable, the state would be persuaded as much as possible to join Indian Union.

Jinnah, a legal minded person, thought it to be settled through constitutional methods. Nehru whose attitude from the very beginning had been that of a dictator, used his coercive and threatening methods. Mountbatten's wishes and efforts were also to get the states affiliated with Indian Union.

Observing Mountbatten's attitude Conrad Carfield the political adviser remarked that, "the Viceroy was doing the princes a grave disservice by urging them to accede before the transfer of power". Carfield wrote, "Mountbatten refused to listen to the political department. From the day he made his bargain with Vellabhai Patel, promoting a limited adherence, which I could not support. Mountbatten told me that he had succeeded in persuading Patel to limit adherence to defence, external affairs and communication. I pointed out that he had agreed to use his influence as the representative of the paramount power to recommend a bargain which could not be guaranteed after independence.[16]

V. P. Mennon was virtually his political adviser from that date".[17] From this on Conrad Carfield was convinced that the Viceroy was all out to force the states to join the Indian Union and intended to use all his influence and power to make them accede to the Indian union. He devoted himself to bullying or cajoling the rulers into accession. His action and attitude was further confirmed from the letter that he wrote to Maharaja Rana of Dholpur.

"If you accede now you will be joining a dominion with the king as head. If they change the constitution to a republic and leave the commonwealth, the instrument of accession does not bind you in any way to remain with the republic ... I know that His Majesty would personally be grieved if you elected to swerve your connection with him while he was still the King of India ... I too will be grieved if I find that your Highness refuses to accede before the 14 August, since I shall bitterly feel isolation of an old friend, and it would be sad that you or your illustrious family would travel without any diplomatic privileges unless your Highness were able to set up legation or Consulate in various parts of the world. You asked me what I thought India would do to Dholpur if you did not accede ... your state will remain in complete isolation in the center of an indifferent India".[18]

The letter written by Mountbatten to a ruler of Dholpur state exposed him how deeply he was involved with the Congress in the service of India.

Conard Carfield the political agent disgustingly remarked that, "the Viceroy was misusing the vast authority which his office and his royal connections bestowed on him. He further explained his views that he formed after having a meeting with a minister from a Princely state who had been subjected to the full blast of Mountbatten's salesmanship, stating that, "he now knew what Dolfus felt like when he was sent for to see Hitler; he had not expected to be spoken to like that by a British officer".[19]

Later on he called for a meeting of the rulers. Twenty-five rulers attended personally whereas seventy-four of the states representatives attended the meeting. Mountbatten was throughout furious and spoke in a commanding tone, ordering them to sign the instrument of accession. One of the representatives took the courage of saying that he had no definite orders of his ruler as to what to do. Mountbatten, very dramatically picked up a glass paper weight and after looking into that crystal ball (that he had asked for at that time) for a few seconds he roared that "His Highness asks you to sign the instrument of accession".[20]

Hyderabad State

Hyderabad state was the largest and richest state of all the other states in India. It had a Hindu majority. Its ruler was a Muslim. It had a British lawyer Sir Walter Monekton as its legal advisor. He was a renowned and a very distinguished authority on law and constitution. With all his legal dexterity he failed in persuading the Nizam compromise for his right to maintain his independence.

Mountbatten used threatening language. He openly told the Nizam that, "If the Nizam did not accede to Indian Union, his state would be ruined and his throne lost. Monekton protested that it was a clear blackmailing. If Hyderabad were pushed too far it would go down fighting resulting in a civil war all over India. Mountbatten threatened Nizam that he would pull out all the British army from Hyderabad before the announcement of independence. To this act of Mountbatten even Ismay and Abell protested and said that would tantamount to a breach of faith".[21]

Monekton then decided to write a personal letter to Churchill, Salisbury, Eden and Butler, saying, "I have been reading Ciano's diary and I am bound to say that the greatest exhibition of power politics seems an exact replica

of those in which Hitler indulged.

It may well be that you will not hear from me again upon this matter apart from a short message to let you know that the German tactics of the old European model has been adopted in India. But I rely on you in the name of our old friendship to see to it that if this shameful betrayal of our old friends and allies cannot be prevented, at least it does not go uncastigated before the conscience of the world".[22]

Monekton's legal and moral persuasions proved abortive. Mountbatten played another cunning trick. He got two months grace period from the Congress and ultimately after the promulgation of independence to India, he cornered the Nizam and ultimately made him accede to the Indian union.

In case of Kashmir, Mountbatten believed that from all strategic points of view Kashmir was an integral part of Pakistan. But Nehru's obstinacy and fundamentalistic attitude made Mountbatten to use the same coercive tactics to get Kashmir into the Indian union.

Monekton again expressed his deep disgust and disapproval of Mountbatten's as well as of the British government's betrayal and breach of trust. He said, "It is horrible that we should have encouraged the rulers to believe in our promises to stand comfortably on their feet. It is still worse that they should feel that, in spite of loyalty, they are being left at the mercy of those who have proved in the past to be our enemies and theirs".[23]

In fact the rulers had practically been coaxed and driven to the slaughter house by the shepherd they trusted most".[24] In that the princes were squeezed out and forced to join the Indian union.

Junagadh State

This state was contiguously connected to Pakistan. It had 3,337 square miles of area with a population of about

700,000. The majority of its population was Hindu and the ruler was a Muslim whereas this state started negotiating the instrument of accession to Pakistan, Mountbatten intervened and wrote to Jinnah saying that the action is in utter violation of principles on which partition was agreed upon and effected".

The principles on which partition was agreed upon and effected were "that contiguous Muslim majority areas should be separated from contiguous non-Muslim majority areas to form the two dominions". If this part of the agreement was to be taken strictly in consideration, Kashmir automatically stood as an integral part of Pakistan and should have been allowed to accede to Pakistan.

Maharaja of Kashmir, being a Hindu did not like to join Pakistan, but neither had he the desire to join India because he was strongly averse to Nehru.

Mountbatten brought all these states under the union of India through threats and coercion. V. P. Mennon played a major role in getting all rulers to sign the instrument of accession under duress.

On August 24, 1948, Hyderabad filed a complaint before the Security Council of the United Nations. Before the United Nations could take any constitutional steps to solve the problem, India started a military action in the state and forcibly got the state annexed to Indian territory. The complaint before the Security Council is still pending.

Kashmir

As per definition and interpretation of the principles on which partition was agreed upon and effected and also quoted by Mountbatten in pleading for the accession of Junagadh to India, Kashmir under rules should have been a part of Pakistan. It had 93 percent of Muslim inhabitants.

Besides V. P. Mennon, Sheikh Abdullah played a prominent part in bringing Kashmir into the fold of Indian union. He had developed intimate relationship with the

Congress, Gandhi and Nehru. He played in their hands and acted under their instructions. Against such illegal act of acceding to India without ascertaining the wishes of the people a case was taken to the United Nations.

The United Nation and the Security Council gave their verdict by unanimously passing a resolution urging the Maharaja of Kashmir to hold a plebiscite to ascertain the wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. India refused to abide by the ruling of the U.N.O. and is still illegally in possession of the major part of Jammu and Kashmir State.

Mountbatten, was under the influence of Nehru's and V. P. Mennon. He forced the Maharaja to accede to India. He indulged in protracted occupation of Kashmir by India with a view to frightening the Maharaja and persuading him to join the Indian union. V. P. Mennon did not lose a minute. He secured the Maharaja's signatures under threat of dire results and destruction of the state. To strengthen his hold on Kashmir Mountbatten himself supervised the airlifts of Indian troops to Kashmir. General Messervy (the proposed Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan army) went to New Delhi to discuss the situation. He was alarmed to note that Mountbatten himself was conducting the military operations in Kashmir. He remarked that "Mountbatten is daily becoming more and more anathema to our Muslims, and it certainly seems as if he could see nothing except through Hindu eyes".[25]

Such actions of Mountbatten openly exposed his inclination to side with India. It was for this purpose that Nehru had managed the immediate replacement of Wavell by Mountbatten as the Viceroy of India. Ian Stephens, the editor of the "Statesman" an Indian English newspaper, said, "He was startled by Mountbatten's one sided verdicts on Indian affairs. And that Lord and Lady Mountbatten seemed to have become wholly pro-Hindu".[26]

Mountbatten from the very beginning started working under instructions and direct influence of Nehru. It was all

due to his direct interference that Mountbatten managed to bring changes in the stipulated plan. The original plan was the complete award of whole Punjab in North West zone and whole Bengal up to Calcutta in the North East zone of Pakistan. Nehru forced Mountbatten to make changes in the award contrary to the principles and rules laid down to be observed while demarcating the boundary lines. Thus the division of the Punjab and Bengal was effected. In this way he managed to cripple Pakistan.

Throughout the period of partition his efforts had been to make Pakistan absolutely weak and inviable. In spite of all that, Jinnah accepted the moth-eaten Pakistan with extremely limited resources, and with great dexterity and skill managed to maintain Pakistan–that "inviable moth-eaten Pakistan" which Nehru boastfully claimed would not last even six months, and would come begging India to take her back in its union. But Jinnah said," Pakistan has come into being, it has come to stay and Inshaallah it will stay forever" and it stayed and stayed without British help.

Independent India ruled by a British Governor General

Gandhi, giving his final call to the British to "Quit India" asked the British to hand over India to the Congress – the Hindus. Let them entrust India to God or in modern parlance of anarchy".[27] Nehru who pronounced that "every fibre of mine hate Britishers" and asked the British government to hand over the reign of India to him, when it came to rule India, he begged Mountbatten to be the head of the Independent India, and be their ruler. He gave in writing to Mountbatten that he was prepared to accept him as India's first British Governor General. That Britisher, whom the every fibre of his hated was begged to be their master. The same Englishman, whom the Hindus with one voice had demanded to quit India was begged to take over the charge of the Chief Executive Officer of free India and

rule them.

After handing over ceremony Mountbatten proceeded to Simla for sometime to relax. He had hardly relaxed for few weeks that suddenly he got a telephone call from New Delhi. It was V. P. Mennon. He urged Mountbatten to return to Delhi.

"But V. P. Mennon, Mountbatten protested, I have just come away. If my cabinet wishes me to countersign something just send it up here and I will countersign it".

That was not at all, Mennon said, "the situation has gone very bad since your excellency left ... The prime minister and the deputy prime minister are both very worried. They think it's essential for your excellency to come back".

Why? Mountbatten asked.

"They need more than your advice now" ... V. P. Mennon said, "I don't think that's what they want at all. The last thing they want is their constitutional chief of state coming back and putting his fingers in their pie.

Admittingly Nehru said, "we don't know how to grip it".

"How can we grip it? Nehru replied. "We have no experience. We have spent the best years of our lives in your British jails. Our experience is in the art of agitation, not administration. We can barely manage to run a well organized government in normal circumstances. We are just not up to facing an absolute collapse of law and order."

We are in an emergency and we need help. Will you run the country?[28]

So these claimants to be the fittest person to rule the whole of India and had all the time demanding the British to quit begged the Britisher to come to their rescue, control their affairs. They all openly admitted their inability to run the government without the active help of the British Governor General.

NOTES

1 *Campbell-Johnson*, p. 93.
2 *From Jinnah to Zia* by Muhammad Munir (the then Member of the Boundary Commission), p. 12.
3 *Pakistan Movement, Historic Documents* by G. Allana, p. 453.
4 *From Jinnah to Zia* by Muhammad Munir, Chief Justice of Pakistan, 1979, pp. 15-16.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
6 *Quaid-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah's Speeches as a Governor General of Pakistan*, Karachi (Pakistan Publication 1963), pp. 32-33.
7 *June 3, 1947, Plan append Mountbatten*, pp. 364–68.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 367.
9 *Jinnah's Broadcast, June 3, 1947, Quaid-e-Azam's Speeches*, pp. 77–79.
10 *Mountbatten and Partition of India* by Larry Collins and Dominque Lapiene, p. 47.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 49.
12 Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, *Emergence of Pakistan*, pp. 226-27.
13 Lord Mountbatten, *Time only to Look Forward*, pp. 39–42.
14 A Note in E. W. R. Lumbay, *The Transfer of Power in India*, 1945–47, p. 233.
15 *Mountbatten* by Philip Ziegler, p. 406.
16 Conrad Carfield, *Some Thoughts on British Policy and the Indian States, the Partitioning of India, Politics and Perspective*, p. 531.
17 *The Princely India–I know, op. cit.*, pp. 183–85.
18 *Mountbatten* by Philip Ziegler, p. 409
19 *Ibid.*, p. 410.
20 *Mission with Mountbatten, op. cit.*, p. 139
21 3rd August 1947, *Moncktons papers*-Box 30–43.
22 27th June 1947, *Moncktons papers*-Box 41–186.
23 Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, *Emergence of Pakistan*, p. 232.
24 *The Partition of India, op. cit.*, p. 292.
25 *Horned Moon*, Ian Stephen (Chorlto and Windus 1935), p. 109.
26 C.W.M.G. (iii-15) vol. lxxvi, pp. 377–81.
27 *Freedom at Midnight* by Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, pp. 370–72.
28 *Horned Moon*, Ian Stephen, p. 110.

CHAPTER VII

THE CONQUEROR

Jinnah – The Governor General of Pakistan

Mountbatten, having despaired of his cherished desire to head the two newly established independent states which Jinnah had categorically refused to accept, finally decided to hand over the power to Quaid-e-Azam (who was proposed by Maulana Mazhar ud Din Ahmed on December, 10, 1938, Editor of the *Muslim*, a Daily newspaper, Delhi to be called Quaid-e-Azam, meaning the Greatest Leader, and was accepted). He was unanimously elected by the governing body of the Muslim League to be the first constitutional head of Pakistan.

14 August 1947 was fixed as the day to inaugurate that auspicious ceremony. Orders for the preparation and arrangements to be made in Karachi for the celebrations of that day had been issued. The partition of India, in spite of it being accepted by all the Hindu leaders, had still not been accepted by a fraction of Caste Hindus Rashtriya Swayam Sangh (R.S.S.); a Hindu militant body. This organization in conjunction with the dissident Sikh party led by Master Tara Singh had planned to assassinate Jinnah by throwing a bomb on the open car carrying Jinnah and his entourage. The news were broken to Mountbatten by an Indian C.I.D. officer, just before they were to fly to Karachi to attend the investiture

ceremony where Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was to be sworn in as the first Governor General of Pakistan.

Mountbatten, who hated Jinnah, which had taken a more vengeful turn, because Jinnah had refused to have him as a common Governor General, yet, from an international point of view and with a view to saving the British government from the disgrace and dishonour that would have been brought on her in the annals of the world history, if Jinnah had been assassinated at such an occasion, the entire responsibility of such tragic incident would have fallen on both the British government and the Hindus to whom he was deeply attached. In case the evil scheme of the Caste Hindus and the dissident Sikhs, who had greatly been misled by the Hindu leaders, through Master Tara Singh, whom they had made a puppet hero for their evil achievements, had materialized, the situation would have taken a fatal and destructive turn, to which there would have been no check or control.

The result of which would have been a total destruction of India and an end to the British Empire (which Churchill rightly prophesied that "the loss of India would be final and fatal to us").

It was this horrible thought and drastic picture of the anticipated events, that haunted his mind, which, at the last moment made him, willy-nilly, to decide to travel in the same car that was carrying Jinnah.

The atmosphere was very tense. The streets of Karachi were flooded with men, women, children, old and young all in colourful dresses. Every street, every road looked like colourful river of men flowing through and gushing towards the austere assembly hall, where the history's most important and unparalleled event was to be celebrated. Karachi city was profusely decorated by colourful flags and bantams. It gave a bridal look, in

spite of the fact that recently there had been a great influx of innumerable refugees coming from India leaving everything of their home, hearth and valuables, back in India. Some had, rather majority of them, come in simple two piece tattered clothes, having lost many of their nearest and dearest ones. Their children cut into pieces before them, women raped in their presence, young virgin daughters and sisters snatched from them and kept behind as booty. In spite of all these heart rending incidents, and in spite of all their grief and sorrows, they looked happy and joyous. Happy that they had won their freedom. Joyous because they would not be under the Hindu slavery, though their hearts were bleeding because of the loss of lives, property and honours of their nearest and dearest ones.

Yet their faces were cheerful. Eyes were giving bright looks. Tears flowing down their cheeks not of grief but of joy and gratitude that they owed to God, the Almighty, and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah who liberated them from the yoke of slavery of the Hindus.

The ceremony of oath taking and handing over the charge of independent state ended without any untoward incident or unpleasantness.

After the ceremony Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, along with Governor General of India, Mountbatten, Lady Mountbatten and their entourage drove through that cheerful crowd of people, enchanting and shouting "Allah-o-Akbar" (God is Great), Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah "Zindabad", "Pakistan Paindabad". The whole atmosphere was resounding with these words. Even the sound of the guns, that were fired as a mark of respect and announcement of the freedom achieved, were subdued under the loud cheerful voice of the Muslim nation which took new birth.

When the colourful caravan of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the first Muslim Governor

General of the Islamic State of Pakistan, Mountbatten, Lady Mountbatten and the members of the first constituent assembly of Pakistan along with the other dignitaries reached the gates of the government house, Jinnah fondly pressed Mountbatten's knee and smilingly uttered these blissful words, "Thank God; I have brought you back alive". These gratifying words were uttered with great responsibility. Because after taking over he was responsible for the safety of his parting guest. He was now responsible for the law and order of the country under his command.

Thus on the 14th of August, 1947, Pakistan took its birth. It came into being in spite of all the bitter opposition of the Hindus, combined with the Sikh community. They all opposed it with all their might. Joint efforts of the British might, the Caste Hindus and the militant Sikhs could not stop Pakistan from coming into being. The efforts of all these inimical forces had till the last moment been to wreck Pakistan. But Jinnah forced them to yield and accede to Pakistan. Pakistan was won and not taken as a gift (Baksheesh) that Gandhi and Nehru thought of granting some concessions to Mussalmans of India as a token of free gift, but as its right.

Jinnah refused to have anything as gift. He said, "We the Mussalmans of India want a separate homeland and will have it as a right and not as a gift".

The Conqueror

History of the world is full of achievements and glories of kings, emperors, conquerors, warriors, great generals, dictators, and leaders.

When we go through their achievements we find that no king, no warrior, no dictator or any leader in the world achieved his goal without causing bloodshed, without carrying a wholesale massacre of human beings, without bringing destruction to life and property.

Countries, cities and towns had been razed to the ground. Most beautiful cities had been put on blaze. Properties had been destroyed. No country was ever conquered without the use of armaments. There is no parallel in history that any warrior or a dictator, could or did achieve his goal without going to war.

It was Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah who fought the battle of freedom for the Muslims of India. He fought against all odds, the British government fully equipped with all fatal and destructive armaments at the command of her fully authoritative commander Mountbatten, and in league with the most diabolic geniuses–the caste Hindus, who all the time had been planning to entrap Jinnah by any means. They used all the possible methods of threats, coercion, temptations to side track him from his decided and determined aim. Jinnah thwarted all their malevolent plans by his one cold logical word "No", that completely nullified their schemes.

Looking into the pages of the world history we find that, Alexander the Great of Macedonia–Greece came out with his 35,000 strong warriors with an intention of conquering the whole world. On his way he routed Egypt. He came to India through Afghanistan causing all ruins and carrying man-slaughter indiscriminately on his way. Finally exhausted of his supply, manpower and arms, he had to return as a vanquished warrior without achieving his goal.

Napoleon Bonaparte sacrificed his 5,00,000 strong French soldiers during his conquests. In the World War II Hitler got his 8,000,000 Nazi Germans killed and about 6,000,000 Jews massacred.

Stalin, the most powerful communist dictator of Russia, during the period of his ruthless reign brought bloodshed at an horrible stage. About twenty million people were killed, slaughtered or put to gas chambers.[1]

Japan compared with the United States and Britain was

a very small country. In order to conquer that small rising sun, as it was called, these two powerful governments had to throw an atom bomb on Hiroshima killing more than 200,000 men on August 6, 1945 and on another Japanese city Nagasaki on August 9, 1945 killing about 80,000 people.[2] Yet none could either add to its territories, bring any change in history or create a new nation.

There had been no parallel in history that ever any warrior achieved any victory without going into war and causing bloodshed and destruction. This most important historical feat was performed by Quaid-e-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah – "the most important person in Asia, the supreme figure in the history of civilization".[3]

He fought the battle of freedom single handedly against all odds and defeated his powerful enemy fully armed to the teeth. The Hindu leaders, who had been clamouring, shouting and making agitations to get freedom from the British Raj for over three quarters of a century could achieve nothing except finding themselves lathi charged and pushed into prisons.

Unfortunately the Hindu leaders paid little heed to the importance of Hindu–Muslim unity. At such indifferent attitude of the Congress, Sapru remarked,"the Congress has gone mad, but the worst of it is that in its madness it is going to involve the country in disaster".[3a]

Gandhi used all his tactics like noncooperation, civil disobedience, and resorting to fast unto death. All his unlawful and unconstitutional methods and threats could not move the British government an inch from her determination to holding fast to India, who, as per saying of Rudyard Kipling, "the responsibility of governing India has been placed by the inscrutable design of providence upon the shoulders of the British race" firmly intended to keep her hold on India.

Believing in the truth of this axiom, Churchill, addressing the House of Commons on February 1931 said, "the loss of India would be final and fatal to us. It could not fail to be part of a process that would reduce us to scale of a minor power" and this fear of his proved true.

With all their military might and firm hold on India, the British governments were not prepared to grant independence to the Indian people.

After the Indian War of Independence in 1857, they had resolved to rule India at the point of bayonets, and under the heavy roar of tanks and thunder of guns. The British government did not hesitate in quelling the slightest anti-government movement by resorting to firing or pushing the agitators in jails. On April 6, 1919, when Gandhi gave his first call for Satyagaraha (refuse to obey orders), the Congress people started agitation which by April 13, took a very serious turn and Brig. General R. E. Dyer machine gunned unarmed civilians killing about 400 Indians and over 1,200 were wounded in Jallian Wala Bagh, Amritsar.[4]

There had been many incidents where the Government did not hesitate to fire or put the agitators in jails. The government felt the least perturbed by any unlawful activities.

In case of Jinnah and the Muslim League's demand of Pakistan, no act of violence was instigated or invited. Pakistan was won on the principle that irrespective of caste, creed and personal belief, every citizen of Pakistan will enjoy equal basic rights of life.

Jinnah had no personal aims. His aims and efforts had all been for the good and betterment of his country men. He had repeatedly said, "I act and pursue that I feel good for my people".

He proved true to his words. He won a free independent separate sovereign state for the oppressed ill-treated Muslims of the subcontinent of India. He proved worthy

of the title, QUAID-E-AZAM, The Greatest Leader of the Muslims of India. His saying, "no power on earth can prevent Pakistan" proved true.

Jinnah and the students

He always advised the students to be cooperative, united and to keep discipline. He had the cogent force of a brilliant advocate. He had an extraordinary power of persuasion. His luminous exposition, his scorching arguments and his impeccable judgements revealed at their best when he sat in a committee.[8]

"QUAID-E-AZAM" IN THE EYES OF HIS FOES AND FRIENDS

Akbar Bhai Pir Bhai, Bar at Law

"His opponents and critics chose to call him the "damaged archangel of Indian politics". Archangel of Indian freedom he has always been and will continue to be. But damaged he is not. His past is his guide for the present. He preferred freedom in separation to serfdom in unity. He was gay, handsome and dashing. Squalor and corruption have left him untouched.[6]

V. N. Iyer, M.A. M.L.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah has the triple assets of a magnetic presence, impressive delivery, a voice which while lacking volume has an arresting timbre.[7]

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu

An Ambassador of Hindu–Muslim Unity. One of the greatest lessons his life and work teach us is the example of what one single individual can achieve, how powerfully and materially he can help guide the destinies of his country and his people and from whom millions can derive true lead and inspiration ... He was a fearless

critic and opponent of the measures of government and the administration of the country ... He was always guided by reasons.
As a lawyer. Mr. Jinnah is considered a very able and powerful advocate on facts and respected as an authority on questions of law ... He always commanded a respectful hearing.
"A Muslim leader" he never allowed encroachment on the interests of the Muslims, their law and their religion. Strictly law abiding ... to disturb law and order deserves in my opinion the strongest condemnation and the highest punishment ... these men who have a desire to disturb law and order, are in my opinion the highest enemies of my country and my people.

Dewan Chaman Lal

Quaid-e-Azam lived in the hearts of the people for whom he fought. He had tremendous dignity. He was immaculately dressed. He had amazing sense of humour. He believed in the preservation of law and order and not its breach, no matter in what good cause. Friendly as he always was, he could be on occasions as hard as steel. He is one of the few men who have no personal motives.[9]

Beverlay Nichols

Jinnah was the most important of person of Asia. Jinnah was one of the supreme figures in the history of civilization. He was as Eastern genius dressed by Seville row. He was always frank, blunt and straightforward.[10]

Dr. Mumtaz Hassan

Jinnah was a man of contradiction aristocratic to his finger tips, he was also democratic to the core of his being. He lived like a lord, yet he would sit with the humblest of the humble and feel like one of them. He

never tried to promote the personal interest in any form. His understanding of the basic principles of Islam was nothing short of profound. He never courted popular favour. He had no time for luxury. There was in him at all times a warmth of feeling for other human beings. He disdained popular favour. Meticulous and obstentius in his habits and very careful of time, he was utterly incorruptible and could not be purchased at any price. He would never compromise his principles and would be prepared to do battle with the mightiest of the mighty for the sake of a principle. He was a man who said what he meant, and the people trusted him.

Truth, honesty, sincerity and steadfastness that he believed in and acted upon. If he lived well he did not do so on public subscriptions. If he was stubborn and inflexible, he served the cause of the people and not his own. Here was a man utterly dedicated to his duty; there was nothing else that mattered to him. Religious. It was common for his enemies to attack him for being a fashionable and Europeanized gentleman who hardly knew anything of religion. Yet this so-called ignorant man understood the principles of Islam better and practiced these more sincerely than anyone else. He believed that in a Muslim state, sovereignty rested in Quran and One God. He was very much fascinated by the democracy of Islam.

Nothing delighted him so much as to be with the people at prayers and to stand in the congregation like anyone of them. With all his shortcomings, this man was one of the greatest Muslims that have ever lived. He was above any price. He would allow no personal consideration to stand in the way of his mission.

Neither Mahatma Gandhi's offer of a blank cheque nor Rajagopal Acharia's offer of India's prime ministership could deflect him from the path he had chosen for himself which he considered to be the right path.

Had he but cared to do so he could have won his way to a barony and a governorship of a province like Sinha. At time Jinnah said, "He was concerned with doing what he thought was the best thing for his people, even though it displeases some of them". He lived and died for Pakistan.

If there ever was a man who could not put up with bribery or corruption in any shape or form that man was Muhammad Ali Jinnah.[11]

Dr. Khalifa Abdul Hakim

Destiny chose him to become an architect of a free state.

N. H. Hashmey

The world's most original conqueror; not as a sword wielder, not as the head of an invading army, but as the most original state founder, the world had ever seen (*Civil and Military Gazette,* December 25, 1952).

Liaquat Ali Khan

Everyone admitted that Pakistan, the twentieth century's miracle was the result of one man's courage, foresight and earnestness, and that man was the beloved Quaid-e-Azam. (*Civil and Military Gazette*, September 13, 1946).

Lord Chemsford Montague (Viceroy of India 1916–18)

Jinnah - young perfectly mannered, impressive looking, armed to the teeth, with dialectics, and insistence upon the whole of his scheme. He is a very clever man, and it is, of course, an outrage that such a man should have no chance of running the affairs of his country".

Wavell, the Viceroy of India (1943–February 1947)

Jinnah can sway opinion, and no one seems to have the character to oppose him (Wavell to Atlee, April 18, 1944).

Mountbatten Viceroy of India (March, 1947–August, 1947)

To all intents and purpose Jinnah was the Muslim League and if the dream of Pakistan ... even did come true it would be Jinnah, who brought it to life and fashioned it" My God, he was cold".[13] "It was Jinnah who more than any other man had made the idea of Pakistan real".[14] "I never met anybody who could say "No" so persistently and so effectively".[15]

M. C. Chagla (Chief Justice of Bombay, August 15, 1947)

Jinnah's dominant characteristic was tenacity. Once he made up his mind, nothing in the world could divert him from his chosen objective. No temptation, no bribe, no pressure had the slightest effect and it is a measure of the man that he succeeded in creating a new country Pakistan. It was his own will power and self confidence, his inflexible purpose and dominating attitude that made it impossible for anybody to differ from him and that made partition inevitable.[16]

Admiral Jefford

He was a great man by the time that he got Pakistan for the Muslims, he was demigod to the masses; yet he was no demagogue. He never courted popularity in any way. By nature he was cold and reserved. He hated sycophants. One thing most important, to remember and know is that Jinnah was all alone that fought the battle of Pakistan and wrenched the homeland for Mussalmans from his enemy. He had against him not only the wealth and the brains of the Hindus, but also nearly the whole British officials and most of the home politicians who made the great mistake of refusing to take Pakistan seriously.

Sir Stafford Cripps

A man of the highest probity and honour, difficult to

negotiate with for the very reason that he was determined in his purpose.[17]

Sir Winston Churchill

Jinnah was the life of the party, rather whole of the Muslim nation". Any attempt to establish the reign of a Hindu numerical majority in India will never be achieved without a civil war. It was a cardinal mistake to entrust the government of India to the Caste Hindus (Churchill addressing the Parliament on March 5, 1946).

Edwin Montague (The First Secretary of State, 1917)

He said, "of all the political leaders he talked with in India, Jinnah impressed him the most. A young perfectly mannered, impressive looking, armed to the teeth with dialectics, and insistent upon the whole of his scheme. Jinnah eminently moderate and flexible, a brilliant constitutional lawyer and a good negotiator.[18]

Begum Nawab Siddique Ali Khan of Nagpur

I knew Jinnah that he was extremely well dressed person who was greatly time conscious.[19]

Sir Aga Khan

He and I never saw eye to eye, but I regard him as a very great man indeed. Quaid-e-Azam had the choice of saying whether the Muslims of India should or should not have Pakistan, and he said, "They will have nothing but Pakistan", He was always right and to the point in his decision ... at the right time. He was a man of tremendous determination and sense of purpose.

Jinnah had strictly been a constitutional person. He could not see how a common constitutional Governor General faced with conflicting advice from two Dominion Cabinets could discharge his responsibilities properly. The powerful propaganda machine of the Congress

concentrated on the theme that Pakistan was nothing but a temporary secession of certain territories from India that soon be reabsorbed. A common head of state for India and Pakistan...would strengthen this belief in India and Pakistan and throughout the world. If Quaid-e-Azam himself became Governor General of Pakistan, he would be a living symbol of Pakistan's independent status. His towering figure would overshadow everything else. (*Pakistan Past Present*, *Stacey International*, London, p. 37).

Times of India, March 23, 1940

His voice now deep and trenchant, now light and ironic, such was the dominance of his personality that despite the improbability of more than a fraction of his audience understanding English, he held his hearers, and played with palpable effect on their emotion. Once his mind was made up he never reverted to any earlier position. The rest of the world would take at least seven years to appreciate that he literally meant every word he had uttered. There was no turning back".

Sir Henry Twynam, Governor of Central Provinces 1944

I know that many hard things are said about Jinnah, but I often wonder where we should have been had not Jinnah foreseen how fatal it would be to Muslims' interests to support Congress".[20]

Gandhi

"Mr. Jinnah is sincere".[21]

Richard G. Casey, Bengal's Governor, 1944

Pakistan idea might go to pieces without Jinnah.

Joachin Alva - a lawyer contemporary of Jinnah

When he stood up in court ... he became omnipotent. He casts spell on the court room, head erect, unruffled by

the worst circumstances".[22]

Another contemporary advocate said:

"He was what God made him a "great leader".[23]

Politics and Politician as viewed by some of the great men of wisdom and knowledge

Since the time of Anthenean Sophists, it was considered that there was no absolute truth or absolute justice and human life was formed by the relations of humans selfishness and shifting exigencies.

Disraeli acknowledged that there was no gambling like politics. Machiavelli thought that politics and moralities must be kept apart. Self seekers and lovers of power jump into the arena of politics without any other qualification except the unscrupulous pursuit of power and glory. Politics is the only profession, for which no preparation is thought necessary.

Socrates said in the "Republic" of Plato, you trust a man with making constitutions on less proof of competence than you would demand before you gave him your shoe to patch.

Dissimulation and hypocrisy are the warp and woof of the fabric of political life. Louse Mettens Howe in his address to Columbia University school of journalism remarked, "you cannot adopt politics as a profession and remain honest". In the realm of politics, scrupulous people are not supposed to be suited to great affairs. This is the dilemma of politics, floating on a plank in a tempestuous stream and trying to keep high and dry.

Jinnah accepted all these challenges. He defied and proved false all the principles as stated above and set by the great politicians and philosophers. It was immaterial for him whether a case involved a few thousands or several millions he would scrupulously count the hours spent on studying a brief or conducting a case and ask the client to

pay only so much and no more. He would always religiously adhere to the contract; no temptations, however great, could make him swerve. He considered his work in the legislature too, as a moral obligation and not as a stepping stone to personal glory.

It is said that a client offered him one lakh rupees if he would conduct his case on that very date. Jinnah, the incorruptible could not be tempted away from the path of what he considered to be his duty. He was the trusted leader of Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

Cynics says that every man has his price and if the proper price is offered, the man can be purchased. But there was no price that the British imperialism could offer, no honour that his own community could hold out and no monetary gain that a client could present that could purchase Jinnah for an object or a cause that he believed to be wrong. For him a rightly conceived principle was more important than the lure of power or money. He did not believe that the prospects of achieving ostensibly noble aims could justify the use of dirty means.

Political opponents of Jinnah averred that he was not a religious man, and said, "How could a man, indifferent to religious observances, aspire to create a state on a religious basis ... If selfless devotion to a good cause that would enrich the values of life is no religion, what else a religion meant for"?

The Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h.) said "Virtuous deeds are the 70th part of true faith" (Bukhari). The great Khalifa Hazrat Omar Farooq said, "judge not people by their prayers and fasting, but judge them by their behavior and their deeds". Maulana Shabir Ahmed Usmani, the greatest Muslim after Aurangzeb Alamgir, said, "The great leader had a much firm faith in God than million of so-called religious men". Jinnah said, "every honest Muslim is a custodian of Islam". He had sufficient grasp of the basic principles of Muslim Jurisprudence. He had no tolerance

for factionalism or sectarianism. He stood for the unity of human beings as a preparation and model for the unity of human beings. He said, "If there is no truth in universal human values, there can be no real unity, only truth can unite, falsehood is a principle of division and discord".

Quaid-e-Azam set an example of political wisdom, courage and selfless devotion to a righteous cause. He was feeble-bodied but a strong willed leader.[12]

Truth has prevailed and falsehood vanished. Say truth has arrived and falsehood neither creates anything new, nor restores anything".[24]

Gandhi who said, "Jinnah would soon be ridden off his dream"[25] had finally to agree that partition was inevitable and they had to accede to Jinnah's demand for Pakistan.

In 1925, Lord Reading the outgoing Viceroy asked Jinnah if he wished, he (Viceroy) would recommend Jinnah for knighthood. The honour which was most coveted and it was an ardent desire of every Indian to be honoured with such a high title. But Jinnah curtly replied, "I prefer to be plain Mr. Jinnah, I have lived as plain Mr. Jinnah and I hope to die as plain Mr. Jinnah".[26]

During the Round Table Conference in 1932, Ramsay Mcdonald, the British Prime Minister, suggested that Jinnah would be appointed governor of any province in India if he desired. Jinnah at once made it clear that his services were not available for sale. Jinnah believed the offer was nothing less than an attempt to bribe him".[27]

With all these plain and hard facts the malicious accusations brought against Jinnah stood false and rebutted. Gandhi and Nehru time and again offered him the Prime Ministership of combined India, which Jinnah categorically turned down.

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was above all these petty considerations. Even his opponents confessed that he was unpurchasable, incorruptible, honest, straightforward, no offer of the highest position could deter him

from his aim and goal. Once he decided for anything he stuck to it and did not rest until he achieved it.

Even in politics he refused to act hypocritically. Once Kanji Dawarkadas, a very close family friend of Jinnah, suggested that, "the Muslim League and the Congress could carry on their quarrels outside the government ... but was it not essential that they should work together inside the government and do as much as they possibly could for the country?" Jinnah retorted, "What do you mean? How can it be possible? Do you mean to say that you and I can kiss each other in this room and go out of the room and stab each other?, "NO".[28]

His politics was based on honesty, truth, free from motives or personal gains. He did not believe in indulging in unconstitutional methods. He was a master brain in law. He pressed home his points strictly based on law requirements and nobody could refute him.

He was an authority on the laws of the world. He had full knowledge and grasp over Muslim law, Hindu law and International law. In fact he was a consolidated encyclopaedia of the world's law.

Once pleading before the Jammu and Kashmir High Court in a most famous marriage dispute case of Hanifa Begum *vs*. the State, he won his clients appeal by forcefully asserting his personal knowledge saying, "My Lord, I am the authority" as an accurate interpreter of Islamic law".[29] No one dared deny his claim. Could anybody match the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah? He proved the greatest leader in the world by establishing the authority of "right is might" that no other leader however great and powerful, he had been, could achieve this honour and unprecedented victory over his opponents. With one forceful word "No" and his indefectible conviction that "Muslims are a nation, and a nation has a right to have her separate independent home land, he totally disarmed them all.

NOTES

1 *Hundred Most Influential Persons in History* by Michael H. Hart, pp. 203, 209, 329.
2 *Encyclopedia of Britannica,* 14th edition, vol. 5, pp. 944 and 482.
3 *Verdict on India* by Beverlay Nichols, p. 216.
3a *Pirzada, Foundation,* vol. ii, pp. 304–6.
4 *Encyclopedia of Britannica,* 14th edition vol. 1, p. 356.
5 *Roses in December* by M. C. Chagla, p. 79.
6 *Tributes to Quaid-e-Azam* by Muhammad Haneef Shahid, p. 10–5.
7 *Ibid.,* p. 35.
8 *Ibid.,* pp. 40–73.
9 *Ibid.,* pp. 75–87.
10 *Ibid.,* pp. 89–91.
11 *Ibid.,* pp. 93–146.
12 *Ibid.,* pp. 147–158.
13 *Mountbatten* by John Terrain, p. 151.
14 *Ibid.,* p. 152.
15 *Ibid.,* p. 153.
16 *Roses in December* by M. C. Chagla, p. 80
17 *Pirzada, Foundation of Pakistan,* vol. ii, p. 212.
18 *Syed, Jinnah,* pp. 223–225.
19 *Khurshid Ara Begum, Nawab Siddique Ali Khan, Women and Independence in Quaid-e-Azam and Muslim Women,* p. 55.
20 *Twynam to Wavell,* April 9, 1944, Mansergh, *Transfer of Power* vol. iv, p. 873.
21 *September 28, 1944,* C.W.M.G. (iii–15) vol. lxviii, p. 143.
22 Jonchin Alva, *Leaders of India,* p. 63.
23 *A Contemporary, "Advocate" of Jinnah* by Bolitho Hector, p. 18.
24 *Holy Quran,* sura-xxxiv, verse-49.
25 Mansergh, *Transfer of Power,* vol. vi. pp. 590-91.
26 December 19, 1925, *Qureshy, Everyday,* p. 394.
27 Kanji Dawarkadass, *India's Fight for Freedom,* p. 385.
28 *Wavell's Minutes,* p. 175.
29 Muhammad Yousaf Saraf, *Quaid-e-Azam in Kashmir,* papers (iv-i) vol. 1, p. 84.

(*Encyclopedia Britannica* vol. i, pp. 469-70).
(*Encyclopedia Britannica,* vol. 12, pp. 831–34).

CHAPTER VIII

LAST EPISODE

Jinnah – The First Governor General of Pakistan

After the investiture ceremony was over, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah took over the direct control of the newborn Islamic State of Pakistan's administration as the chief executive.

He was fully aware of Pakistan's condition. Economically it was made bankrupt, territorially it was crippled, by taking away most crucial parts, which should have been included. This foul game was played by Mountbatten in league with Nehru, and other Hindu leaders, who were behind the devious game against Pakistan.

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah took over the charge of Pakistan in utterly a hopeless conditions. He had to start with Pakistan from a scratch, with absolutely no ready resources to make up the fatal losses and over and above there were open threatening challenge of Hindu leaders, who were bent upon annihilating the Muslims from the face of India.

With these challenging conditions and enemy all round him, Quaid-e-Azam set out working practically day and night, putting all his soul and mind in work.

His trouble with lungs, that he had since long been ignoring, started showing deterioration. His battle against two powerful enemies British government and the caste Hindus had already shattered his health. Yet not caring for

this he simply warded off his ailment by casually saying, "it is nothing but fatigue and malaria, which soon I will overcome". He put his head and heart deep in his work for the establishment of the new born nation.

Jinnah stepping in his first official state home, looked cheerfully at his naval A.D.C. Lieutenant S. M. Ahsan and said, "do you know, I never expected to see Pakistan in my life. We have to be very grateful to God for what we have achieved".[1]

Primarily, constitutionally, it was not feasible for one person to hold dual charge of two different independent states, working in two differe ıt constitutions from each other. It would have looked as though neither India nor Pakistan had become free. And with Governor General's seat at Delhi, Pakistan would have been like an abhorred state subordinate to India.

Secondly, Jinnah correctly concluded that Pakistan might be compromised (which was the deep rooted aim of the Hindu leaders) or possibly suffer as a step child under Mountbatten.

Thirdly, from the status point of view Jinnah would stand on equal footing with Mountbatten as India's Governor General and also he would be on equal footing with Attlee, the British Prime Minister, and all the heads of states of the Commonwealth world over.

Frustrated, Mountbatten and all his Hindu colleagues continued stinging and putting all their venom in Pakistan to paralyze it. After their first fatal blow to Pakistan, by debarring her of her legitimate and crucially important districts of East Punjab, another fatal blow that Nehru planned and executed was by holding the rightful amount of 55 crore. Out of 75 crores Pakistan received 20 crores, 55 crores were withheld under the orders of Nehru, besides much of the army equipment and other miscellaneous stores.

On August 14, 1947, in its first meeting, the Pakistan

Constituent Assembly unanimously elected him to preside over it. Addressing the sovereign Assembly, Jinnah said:

"I sincerely hope that we shall make this constituent assembly an example for the world. The constituent assembly has got two main functions to perform. The first is the very onerous and responsible task of framing our future constitution of Pakistan and the second of functioning as a full and complete sovereign body as the federal legislative of Pakistan. We have to do the best we can...You know really that not only we ourselves are wondering but, I think, the whole world is wondering about the plan of creating and establishing two independent sovereign dominions in this subcontinent. As it is, it has been unprecedented. There is no parallel in the history of the world. This mighty subcontinent with all kinds of inhabitants has been brought under a plan which is titanic, unknown, unparalleled. You will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the state".[2]

He further in his address pointed out some of the social evils, such as, corruption, bribery, black marketing, nepotism and jobbery, which he thought were the greatest evils that subcontinent was suffering. He thought that such cancerous evils should ruthlessly be dealt with and with an iron hand. Black marketing, he said was the most heinous crime that black marketers commit against the society. They by their this criminal act cause wholesale starvation and want and even death. He suggested that such criminals should be very severely punished and be made exemplary one. Remarking on the idea of a united India, he said, "it would have not worked and might have led us to a terrific disaster".[3]

He further emphasized on everyone to work hard and wholeheartedly. He said, "If you will work in cooperation,

forgetting the past, if you change your past and work together, in a spirit that everyone of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this state with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make".[4]

You are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in the state of Pakistan ... you may belong to any religion or caste or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the state ... we are starting in the days when there is no discrimination between one caste or creed and another.

We are starting with this fundamental principle that all citizens are equal citizens of one state. Today you might say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist, what exist now is that every man is a citizen, and equal citizen of great Britain...all members of the nation"[5]...I shall always be guided by the principles of justice and fairplay without any as is put in the political language, prejudice or ill will...My guiding principle will be justice and complete impartiality, and I am sure that with your support and cooperation, I can look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest nations of the world".[6]

Jinnah started his work under very unfavourable conditions. His avowed enemies, Nehru, Patel and Baldev Singh were averse to giving the legitimate share of assets to Pakistan. They adopted this hostile attitude with a view to making Pakistan practically vulnerable and bringing her to a state of ruins, so that finally it should bow down before them and fall on their feet begging to be taken back to the fold of the Indian Union.

With his great determination and wits Jinnah withstood all their threats and foiled all their evil plans. He steered his State successfully through all the rough shod, tempests, whirlwinds that tended to wreck the state and crucify its

skipper.

In politics he stood head and shoulder above all his counterparts steering his state out through all the whirlwinds brought his state from a nonexistent position to a strong, powerful and invincible state. A state that was scorned off and considered to fall down to crust, was established firmly with its roots deep, deep to an unshakable position. It was Jinnah's unique statesmanship, his singular ability to keep the nation to one united nation. It was he, who brought the scattered crowd of Muslims to the fold of one strong enviable nation to an equal footing to all the nations of the world.

At such a critical time, when in spite of his fast deteriorating health, he was deeply involved in working, in rejuvenating his people he was informed by Ismay that armed convoys of Muslim refugees leaving India could not pass through hostile Sikh territory without special sanctions and approval of Nehru.

Jinnah said, "he could never understand those men's hatred and was now beginning to feel that there was no alternative but to fight it out. Side by side, it was reported to him that India was planning to wage war against Pakistan with a view to bring her to ruins. Master Tara Singh reportedly said, "this is war" on September 12, 1947.[7]

Liaquat Ali Khan who was in those days in New Delhi supervising all these affairs warned Indian Government and said "let India go ahead and commit an act of war and see what happens".[8]

Jinnah had already exhausted his health while fighting for Pakistan to free her out of the clutches of Hindu slavery. Such treacherous incidents told very heavily on his health. Despaired of all fairplay and justice at the hands of Hindus, combined with active help and support of Attlee, Mountbatten and Ismay, he said, "It was quite clear that the dominion of India was out to throttle and choke the dominion of Pakistan at birth and that if they continued

with their oppression there would be nothing for it but to face the consequences. He was not afraid of the situation as it was already so bad that there was little that could happen to make it worst.[9]

In spite of his growing illness and imminent threats of war by Indian militants, Jinnah was determined to foil all their ill plans. He undertook another strenuous job of going around and visiting all parts of his newly created state. During his visit to Lahore on October 30, 1947, addressing a mass rally at Lahore University stadium, he said:

> "Freedom can never be attained by a nation without suffering and sacrifice, has been amply borne out by the recent tragic happenings in this subcontinent. We are in the midst of unparalleled difficulties and untold sufferings, we have been through dark days of apprehension and anguish. The systematic massacre of defenseless and innocent people puts to shame even the most heinous atrocities committed by the worst tyrants known to history. We have been the victims of a deep laid and well planned conspiracy executed with utter disregard of the elementary principles of honesty, chivalry and honour. We thank providence for giving us courage and faith to fight these forces of evil. Do not be afraid of death–our religion teaches us to be always prepared for death. We should face it bravely to save the honour of Pakistan and Islam. There is no better salvation for a Muslim than the death of a martyr for a righteous cause".[10]

The incessant massacre of Muslims, men, women, young, old and children caused fatal effect on his ill health. He, who was said to have not allowed sentiments disturb his mind and thoughts, seemed to have suffered in great distress. Such events aggravated his illness, that he had so far been defiantly facing and fighting with determination and willpower.

On December 14, 1947, a general meeting of All India Muslim League council was held in Karachi. In that meeting

about 160 members from India had come to reassert their allegiance to the Muslim League and vowed to work their best for the betterment of the Muslims' cause.

Jinnah against the advice of his doctors left his sick bed and presided over his final session of the party. Delivering his presidential address, he said, "as you know the Muslim League has achieved and established Pakistan. The Muslims were a crowd. They were demoralized and they had to suffer economically. We have achieved Pakistan, not for the League, not for any of our colleagues but for the masses."

From among the audience, one of the dissidents Maulana Jamal Mian showed a great disappointment at some untoward behaviour and attitude of some over lord type of men. He complained that behaviour of ministers was un-Islamic. Poor people could hardly find their hearing and attention. Jinnah was fully aware of the situation. He calmly listened and replied, "we are now only a four month old child, you know somebody would like to overthrow us. I know you would say we have not done such and such thing, but we are only four months old".[11]

Jinnah's health was taking a serious turn but as a man of iron will he had been defying all its ill effects. He intended to bring Pakistan to the level of sustenance that should be able to face all eventualities. With those challenging words of Nehru, Wavell and Mountbatten, resounding in his mind, "that I do not believe that Pakistan will work (Wavell to Casey, January 1, 1945), a day will come when Pakistan would come begging to be taken back in the Indian union (Nehru)", he got on working with greater zeal and resolution, in order to make Pakistan self sufficient and strong enough to face these threatening challenges.

Working in his secretariat, pondering over the files that kept pouring in on his office desk, he kept up his other extramural duties as well.

On January 21, 1948, while launching the P. S. Dilawar (Sword) Pakistan's first modern destroyer, Jinnah recalled

some of the events of first world war, and said, "the first world war was fought to end war, this led to the birth of the League of Nations and the idea of collective security, but the League of Nations proved only a pious hope. And now the United Nation Organization has taken place, which too is proving a dummy organization. Pakistan must be prepared for all eventualities and dangers. The weak and defenseless in this imperfect world invites aggression from others. Pakistan is still in its infancy and so is its Navy. But this infant means to grow up and God willing will grow up much sooner than many people think. You will have to make up for the smallness of your size by your courage and selfless devotion to duty for it is not life that matters, but the courage, fortitude and determination you bring to it".[12]

Jinnah was a man of iron will. He kept on working day and night defying all the doctors' advice. Pakistan was still in its infancy when alarming news of rift reached Jinnah. Mamdot was at that time the chief minister of the Punjab and Mian Mumtaz Daultana was aspiring to become the chief minister of the Punjab and at the same time was with fox like cunning watching the situation, with the hope to become the Prime Minister of Pakistan. These matters aggravated his illness, and wrecked his health. Jinnah felt so much upset and disgusted with such dismaying conditions that he felt totally shipwrecked.

Last Days

Beside the disease that was eating up his life, his lieutenants' attitude and their hunger for power added fuel to his ailment. This iron willed man's health broke down. Finding Jinnah absolutely broken down, Miss Fatima Jinnah, who had throughout his life accompanied him, called for a team of doctors in Karachi. A panel of doctors, all in one, were of the opinion that he should be moved to a more healthy place. In June 1948 Jinnah and Fatima Jinnah flew to Quetta, away from his strenuous work. After having

complete rest for sometime Jinnah started improving in health.

By nature he was a man of courage and strong will power. He soon turned to his official duties. He went to visit the Staff College, Quetta, on June 14, 1948. There addressing the officers he said:

> "You along with other forces of Pakistan are the custodians of the life, property and honour of the people of Pakistan. The defense forces are the best of all Pakistan services and correspondingly a very heavy responsibility and burden lies on your shoulders. I want you to remember and if you have time enough you should study the government of India Act, as adapted for use in Pakistan, which is our present constitution, that the executive authority flows from the head of the government of Pakistan, who is the Governor General, and therefore, any command or orders that may come to you cannot come without the sanction of the executive head".[13]

Relief and improvement in health proved temporary. He again started running temperature and feeling exhausted. He was advised to move to a health resort, and invigorating place Ziarat, several thousand feet higher than Quetta, a quiet place surrounded by all natural beauty and refreshing climate.

In view of his grave illness, Colonel Ellahi Buksh, an old IMS physician, who was considered the best, was immediately asked by Muhammad Ali, the Secretary General of the Government of Pakistan, to go to Ziarat with necessary equipment and medicines and take charge of Quaid-e-Azam as his personal physician.

Colonel Ellahi Buksh was joined by Major General M. A. Khan and Colonel K. Jilani at Karachi. All the three doctors drove to Ziarat. Even at that horribly critical stage, Jinnah, while narrating his past medical history, said that there was nothing serious wrong with him. He only ran out of physical strength, which he thought to be due to

overworking and little rest.

On physical examination, the doctors were much horrified to note that Jinnah looked like a mere skeleton covered with a thin veil of skin. He had been reduced to a stage of emaciation. On preliminary tests Colonel Ellahi Buksh was of the opinion that Jinnah's lungs had been affected. He, however called upon the civil surgeon at Quetta and asked him to move immediately up to Ziarat along with all the necessary appliances and medicines required to carry on clinical tests. At the same time he called for his three best physicians from his hospital at Lahore, instructing them to bring along with them portable X-ray plant. He also managed to get necessary life saving drugs from Karachi. Thus a team of specialists on medicine worked upon to enable Jinnah restore his lost health.

On further investigations it was diagnosed that besides lungs disease he had symptoms of cancer in his lungs. The whole medical team worked day and night to bring back Jinnah to a good health. But unfortunately his disease had gone too deep that most modern existing science had not yet been able to find any such life saving drug that could cure Jinnah.

During his illness Isphahani flew from New York to enquire after his health. He had offered to secure the services of renowned specialists from America. But the team of doctors working upon him thought it of no avail as no life saving drug was available for cure.

Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, also visited him once during his ailment. He stayed with Quaid-e-Azam for sometime. He enquired from the doctors of his ailment and the treatment that was being imparted. He felt very much concerned about his Quaid's health. He directed Colonel Ellahi Buksh to go in all and all in treating him and not to spare any efforts undone in bringing him back to his good health.

In spite of the best efforts of the doctors Jinnah's

condition started deteriorating.

In view of the high altitude and its unsuitable climate, that was adversely affecting his heart and kidneys, doctors thought it advisable to move him down to a lower altitude place.

Journey to his eternal abode and goodbye to Pakistan

On August 13, 1948, Jinnah along with his ever loving sister Miss Fatima Jinnah and his team of doctors moved down to Quetta. Jinnah was so meticulous about his dress that before moving he dressed himself in a new suit, with a matching tie and a handkerchief in his breast pocket.

Next day, August 14, 1948, was the day that Pakistan was to celebrate its first independence day. On the eve of that ceremonial day, Quaid-e-Azam's written (by one of his office secretaries in the government house at Karachi) message to his citizens was published in Pakistan's daily newspapers; that read as under:

> "Today we are celebrating the first anniversary of our freedom. We have faced the year with courage, determination and imagination, and the record of our achievements has been a wonderful one in warding off the blows of the enemy...I congratulate you all my ministers under the leadership of the Prime Minister".[14]

That message proved to be his last to his nation. His condition was getting worse and worse. Jinnah was very strict in adhering to his principles, of which punctuality was at the top. He often had a row with his doctors who intentionally visited him at somewhat later hour than appointed. The idea behind that was to allow him more time for rest. But Jinnah would insist upon them to be punctual to their appointments. As narrated by Miss Fatima Jinnah, that "Her brother attached a great deal of importance to punctuality, and all his life he had himself had been most punctual."[15]

Finding his health getting worse, Colonel Ellahi Buksh

suggested that he should be moved to Karachi. Jinnah, was very conscious and particular about the official etiquettes and formalities. He said to Colonel Ellahi Buksh that he did not like to enter his state house on "Crutches". "I want to go there when I can walk from the car to my room. You know, from the porch you have to pass the ADC's room and then the military secretary's before you reach mine. I dislike being carried on a stretcher from the car to my room".[16]

Instead of improving, Jinnah's health was coming to a shattering point. Feeling that condition, he himself got despaired of life. Lying in the bed quietly all day, listless, apathetic, depressed, he spoke to his sister, "Fati, I am no longer interested in living. The sooner I go the better.[17] It does not matter whether I live or die. He said these words with tears in his eyes".[18]

A man of iron will, had ultimately given way to soft feelings, that is the human nature. He, had never allowed sentiments to come in his way of achievements and determined aim to liberate his nation. When his daughter, Dina married a Christian Parsi against his will, he never saw her anymore, That very indomitable fighter at last gave way to his feelings, not for himself, not for any his kith and kin, but at the atrocious plight of his countrymen, for whom he dedicated his whole life and got for them a separate independent homeland. He withstood all those ordeals, faced manly all the vile insults hurled at him by his adversaries. He did not care any personal insults that his opponents hurled at him. But that man of iron will could not resist soft feelings overpowering him, when he visualized the sad plight of his citizens. It eroded his will power to fight the disease.

Noticing further deterioration in his health, the doctors considered it advisable to move him to Karachi. On September 11, 1948, the whole convoy consisting Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, his sister Miss Fatima

Jinnah, and the full team of doctors enplaned the Governor General's Viking and two other Dakota airplanes, and took off at 2.00 p.m. for Karachi. Even at that critical condition of his health, when he was being carried into the Viking, he raised his feeble hand to acknowledge the salute of the pilot and crew who had lined up to pay their regards to their beloved Quaid – the LIBERATOR, and the FATHER of the Muslim Nation. Who knew that would be their last homage that they were paying to their Quaid.[19] (My Brother – Fatima Jinnah).

The Viking carrying the Quaid landed at Mauripur Air Force base at 4.15 p.m. The Governor General Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah had come to his capital, the land that gave birth to the greatest leader of the world...the land for which the Quaid fought single handedly the two powers.

A year back, when this creator of the nation, the maker of a history landed, this capital of his newly created independent state besides high dignitaries, ministers, officials and heads of the armed forces, millions of people had thronged to greet their leader. The whole city looked a multi-coloured sea of men, women, young, old, and children in colourful dresses. The city had a bridal look, brightly illuminated, colourfully decorated giving a charming and cheerful look.

Today, on September 11, 1948, when the same hero of the nation, Governor General, Quaid-e-Azam landed on the same land at 4.15 p.m., no Prime Minister, no Minister, not a single official, came to receive him. No guard of honour was presented. No common man was seen near about because he had no knowledge of his leader's arrival. Only Colonel Knowles, the military secretary had come with an army ambulance. The ambulance that broke half way on its journey to the state house. Firstly it was reported that there was some mechanical fault which soon would be removed, later on it was found that it had run short of fuel.

Imagine the lethargy and indifferent attitude of the state officials, who did not care to see whether the ambulance was in a good running condition, had enough fuel to cover the distance. It was going to bring a person no less than the Head of the State. Even if any vehicle is taken out on the road, it is properly examined by an expert technician and is issued a certificate of its mechanical fitness, the driver examines the gauge of oil and water, and testifies of its having enough fuel to cover the distance it was required to run. All these basic requirements were ignored, that tantamount to willful negligence on the part of the officials responsible for such duty.

Quaid-e-Azam was lying on a stretcher in the ambulance on the roadside at a God forsaken place, where, except a few huts inhabited by torn up refugees, who themselves were passing their days of miseries, under wishful thinking of seeing better days, no other sign of help was seen. On examination, Colonel Ellahi Buksh found Quaid's pulse sinking. He was helplessly gasping for breath. He soon fetched a flask from his car behind and gave Jinnah a cup of tea.

Trucks, buses and cars ran past through them, not caring to find out what happened. Who were in the ambulance and in the car held up there? After about two hours waiting in agony, another ambulance was brought by the Military Secretary who was sent by Miss Fatima Jinnah to fetch one. The party reached the Governor General's house at about 6.10 p.m. He was carried to his bedroom on stretcher. He was in a semi coma position. However he had a few hours' sleep, when suddenly feeling uneasy Quaid opened his eyes and the only word he uttered was "Fati". Immediately doctors attended him. Injected a stimulant in him. But, No, the inevitable hour had come. Quaid the greatest leader of the nation had breathed his last. At 10.20 p.m. on September 11, 1948, the death had taken its toll. Doctors declared he had breathed his last.[19] (All the incident

had been narrated by Miss Fatima Jinnah in her book-"My Brother").

"To God we belong and to God we have to return. Dust thou art to Dust thou shalt return" that is the Decree laid down by God. Everyone that is sent in this world has to taste death. Everything created by God has to come to dust. ETERNITY is God...the ever living, everlasting, free from all wants, the Creator of the universe. Everything that is on earth or heaven belongs to Him. He is the sole Authority of all. He is the sole Controller and Sustainer of the universe. Not a single event or incident can happen without His Knowledge and Decree.

As ordained and destined by God, Jinnah was dead. Quaid-e-Azam, the freedom fighter, the invincible conqueror, man of iron will, universally acknowledged – The greatest leader of the Muslims of the subcontinent had passed away.

The invincible conqueror was at last conquered by death. Death that is inevitable proved it true, that everything that is created has to taste death. Everlasting, Infinity and Eternity is God. Light that illuminated Pakistan was extinguished. Gloom and sorrow overtook and spread all over the country. The Liberator of Muslim Nation of the subcontinent, the creator of new independent Islamic State – Pakistan, the father of the nation was dead. Quaid-e-Azam was dead, Long live Quaid-e-Azam, Long live Pakistan.

Karachi where Jinnah was born on December 25, 1876, that Karachi where Jinnah played in his childhood with his school mates, that Karachi, where Jinnah got his preliminary education, that Karachi, where a year back Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah came as the first Governor General of the newly created Islamic State – that Karachi land took him back in its fold on September 12, 1948.

About the Book

Humanity has never been plagued with more lethal specimens of despots than the colonial British and the banya Hindu. The unique credit goes to Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah that he waged a single-handed battle against both of these menaces. He came out victorious simply because of his straightforwardness, integrity and faith. JINNAH THE CONQUEROR is a bold narration of that heroic struggle for the rights of the downtrodden. The added beauty of this great book is a detailed and inspiring introduction from the magic pen of a world-renowned Iqbalist, Professor Muhammad Munawwar Mirza.

About the Author

Mr. Ibadur Rahman Khan is a penetrating observer of various politico social scenarios of the Pakistan Movement. Apart from his persuasive penmanship, his most appropriate qualification to lift his versatile pen on such a sensitive field is his meaningful meeting with the great Quaid, his commendable services during the Pakistan Movement and his innate urge to tell the truth and nothing but the truth.

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